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OF
ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

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ANCIENT RECORDS
OF
ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

By

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Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures
in the University of Chicago

VOLUME II

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF ASSYRIA

FROM SARGON TO THE END

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1927

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CHAPTER I

SARGON; THE KHORSABAD TEXTS

1. The inscriptions of Sargon of Assyria (724–705 B.C.) fall most naturally into two groups, those from Khorsabad and those from other cities. The Khorsabad texts, in point of time the latest of the Sargon inscriptions, are given first. They are a unit and represent the events of the reign as edited by the royal scribes to adorn the walls, pavement slabs, etc., of the great palace which Sargon built in the closing days of his reign (it was dedicated in 706, less than a year before the king's death). The earlier inscriptions from Assur, Calah, and Nineveh, the successive capitals of Sargon before his removal to Dûr-Sharrukîn (Khorsabad), while they do not cover the events of the reign nearly as fully as the Khorsabad texts, are, nevertheless, of the greatest importance to the historian in that they enable him to make a fair guess as to what is fact and what fancy in the royal annals.

2. The Khorsabad texts represent the results of the earliest Assyrian excavation, and were published in Vols. III and IV of Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* (1849–50). When one bears in mind that Rawlinson's *Memoir*, which marks the real beginning of the decipherment of the Semitic cuneiform, did not appear until 1851, one is not surprised that the Botta-Flandin publication of the Khorsabad texts is far from adequate. The texts of the cylinders, bull-colossi, and foundation deposits were republished from the originals by Lyon, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, in 1883, while those of the remaining Khorsabad inscriptions were re-edited by Winckler—largely from squeezes, the originals not having been brought to Europe—in *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 1889. Lyon's work is a model of accurate, painstaking scholarship. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Winckler's edition of the Sargon texts. With nothing more than Botta-Flandin for comparison, it was possible to show that Winckler's texts are far from what they might have been. When the long text recounting the events of the eighth campaign (§§ 140 ff.) became available for comparison with Winckler's text of the *Annals* for the year 8, our compla-

cent belief that we had a text that was "nearly final"[1] was rudely shattered. A new edition of the Sargon texts is greatly to be desired.

I. THE ANNALS

3. On the wall slabs of three (II, V, XIII) of the salons of his palace at Dûr-Sharrukîn (Khorsabad), Sargon had engraved the "authorized version" of the annals of his reign.

In the following translation Winckler's numbering of the lines is followed.

The introduction, ll. 1–10*a*, was probably an almost exact duplicate of ll. 1–16 of the Cylinder Inscription (§ 117).

Year 1. The deportation of the Israelites; a minor raid into Babylonia (ll. 10b–23)

4. . . . . [At the beginning of my rule, in my first year of reign] . . . . . ⌜Samerinai⌝ (the people of Samaria) . . . . . [of Shamash] who causes me to attain victory . . . . . [27,290 people, who lived therein] I carried away; 50 chariots for my royal equipment, I selected from [among them] . . . . . [The city I rebuilt], I made it greater than it was before; people of the lands [my hand had conquered, I settled therein. My official I placed over them as governor]. Tribute, tax, I imposed upon them as upon the Assyrians. . . . . I mixed together, I made the price to be . . . . . had sinned and invited me to fight . . . . . [in the plain of Dêr(?) I defeated him. On the Tu'munu tribe I imposed Assur's yoke . . . . . [Merodachbaladan, king of Chaldea⌝, who exercised the kingship over Babylon against the will of the gods . . . . . x+7 people, together with their possessions, I snatched away . . . . . [In the land] of Hatti (Syria) I settled (them).

[1] Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon*, p. 2. This work of Olmstead's is of prime importance for the student of Assyrian history and should be consulted for its complete Bibliography of the Sargon inscriptions.

Year 2. Against the rebels in Syria (ll. 23–31)

5. In my second year of reign, Ilu-⌜bi'di of Hamath] . . . . . of the wide [land of Amurru?] he gathered together at the city of Karkar and the oath . . . . . [the cities of Arpad, Simirra], Damascus and Samaria [revolted against me] . . . . . ⌜I established⌝ and Sib'u ordered his *turtan* to go to his (Hanno's) aid, and he came forth against me, offering battle and fight. At the command of Assur, my lord, I defeated them and Sib'u ran off alone like a shepherd whose sheep have been carried off, and he died.[1] Hanûni (Hanno) I seized with my own hand and took him to my city, Assur, in chains. The city of ⌜Rapihu⌝ I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire; 9,033 people, together with their many possessions, I carried off.

Year 3. Against the Mannean rebels (ll. 32–42)

6. [In my third year of reign,⌝ Shuandahul and ⌜Durdukka⌝, strong cities, planned to fight against Iranzu, ⌜the Mannean⌝, their king and lord, who was subject to me (drew my yoke), and they put their trust in Mitatti of Zikirtu. Mitatti of Zikirtu gave them his warriors with their cavalry, and (thus) aid was provided for them. I mustered the hosts (*lit.*, masses) of Assur's armies, and went forth to capture those cities. With mighty battering-rams(?) I smashed their fortified walls, and leveled them to the ground (*lit.*, reckoned them as ground). The people and their possessions I carried off. Those cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. [The people] of the cities of Sukka, Bala and Abitikna, conceived a wicked plan of tearing up the roots of (their) land and with Ursâ, of Urartu (Armenia), they came to terms. Because of the sin which they had committed, I tore them away from their homes (*lit.*, places) and settled them in Hatti of Amurru.

[1] *Lit.*, went up. Possibly disappeared is all that is meant.

Year 4. Against Kiakki, of Shinuhtu (ll. 42–45)

7. In my fourth year of reign, Kiakki of the city of Shinuhtu forgot the oath (he took by) the great gods and decided not to pay tribute . . . . . To the great gods, my lords, I raised my hand and I overthrew Shinuhtu, his royal city, like a storm. Himself, together with his warriors, 7,350 people, his wife, his sons, his daughters, the people of his palace, together with much property, I reckoned as its booty. Shinuhtu, his royal city, I gave to Matî of Atuna and imposed upon him (the payment of) more horses, mules, gold and silver than he had paid before.

Year 5. Against Carchemish (ll. 46–52)

8. In my fifth year of reign, Pisîri of Carchemish sinned against the oath by the great gods and sent (messages of) hostility against Assyria to Mitâ of the land of Muski. I lifted my hand to Assur, my lord, and brought him and his family out (of his city) in chains. Gold, silver, together with the property of his palace and the rebellious people of Carchemish, who were with him, with their goods, I carried off and brought (them) into Assyria. 50 chariots, 200 steeds (*or*, cavalry-men), 300 foot soldiers, I selected from among them and added them to my royal host. People of Assyria I settled in Carchemish and placed the yoke of Assur, my lord, upon them.

9. The people of the cities of Pâpa and Lallukna, dogs who had been brought up in my palace, plotted openly against the land of Kakmê. I tore them from their homes (places) and brought them to Damascus of Amurru.

Year 6. The beginning of the subjugation of Armenia (ll. 52–74)

10. In my sixth year of reign, Ursâ, the Armenian . . . . . [Mitatti] of Zikirtu, the governors of the Mannean land, ... set them at enmity with Sargon (and) with Azâ, the

son of their lord . . . . . on Mount Uaush, a steep mountain, started to destroy the land of the Manneans and cast out the body of Azâ, their lord. To Assur, my lord, that the Mannean land might be avenged and that it might be restored to Assyria's rule(?), I raised my hand (in prayer), and in Mount Uaush, the mountain where they had cast out the body of Azâ, I flayed Bagdattu, and showed him to the Manneans. Ullusunu, his brother, I placed on the royal throne, the whole of the Mannean land I made subservient to him. [Ulusunu, the Mannean] . . . . . put his trust in Rusâ, the Armenian. Assur-li'u of the land of Karalla and Ittî of the land of Allabria he caused to revolt against me and called upon them to become vassals of Armenia. In the anger of my heart I overran (*lit.*, covered) these lands like [a swarm] of locusts and Izirtu, the royal city of the Manneans, I overwhelmed as with a net. Multitudes of them I slew. Izirtu I burned with fire and I captured the cities of Zibia and Armaid. Ullusunu, the Mannean, and all of his land gathered together as one man and seized my feet. I had mercy upon them. I forgave Ullusunu his transgression, on the royal throne [I placed him] . . . . . Ittî of [Allabria], together with his family, I snatched away, and Assur-li'u of Karalla . . . . . The city of Ganu—, ... [of the district of Niksama[1], I captured. Shêpâsharri, the mayor, ... of the city of Shurgadia I seized with my own hand. Those cities I added to the province of [Parsuash]. Bêl-shar-usur, of the city of Kishesim, my hand captured and himself, together with the property of his palace, I carried off to Assyria. My official I set over his city as governor. The gods, who go before me, therein I caused to dwell and I called its name Kâr-Urta. My royal image I set up in its midst. The lands of Bît-Sagbat, Bît-Hirmami, Bît-Umargi, the cities of Harhubarban(?), Kilambâti, Armangu, I conquered and added to his province.

11. The people of Harhar drove out Kibaba, their mayor, and sent word to Taltâ of Ellipi (that they wished) to be his vassals. That city I captured and I carried off its spoil. People of the lands my hand had conquered I settled therein. I set my official over them as governor. The upper canal of the land of Aranzêshu, the lower canal of Bît-Ramatua, the lands of Urikatu, Sikris, Shaparda, Uriakku, six districts, I captured and added them thereto. The weapon of Assur, my lord, I appointed as their deity. Kâr-Sharrukin, I called its name.[1] From 28 mayors of the land of the mighty Medes I received tribute, and I set up my image in Kâr-Sharrukin.

Year 7. Against Rusâ of Armenia; tribute from many lands (ll. 75–100)

12. In my seventh year of reign, Rusâ, the Armenian, plotted hostility against Ullusunu of the Mannean land, and took away from him 22 of his fortresses as booty;—lying words of suspicion against Ullusunu he spoke to Daiaukku, the Mannean governor, and received his son as hostage. To Assur, my lord, I lifted my hand and those 22 fortresses I besieged, I captured and brought them within the border of Assyria. Daiaukku, together with his family, I snatched away; I restored quiet in the disrupted Mannean land.

13. The tribute of Ianzû, king of the Nairî-land, [I received] in Hubushkia, his city. Nine cities . . . . . province of (which?) Ursâ, the Armenian . . . . . their cattle, their sheep, ... fortresses, together with the cities of ⌜their neighborhood⌝ . . . . . [of Telusina⌝, of the land of Andia, I captured. 4,200 people, together with their possessions, I carried off. Those fortresses I destroyed, I devastated, [I burned with fire]. My royal image I made and inscribed upon it the might of Assur, my lord. In Izirtu, the royal city of the Manneans, [I set it up].

[1] *V. adds,* A stele I made and . . . . . [the power of my might] I wrote thereon and set it up therein.

14. The people of the upper and lower rivers, whom I had reckoned with the people of the city of Harhar in my former campaign, and to whose side I had brought (*lit.*, turned) the lands of Bît-Sangibuti, Uriakki, Sikris, Shaparda and Upparia, revolted against me, ... I struck down with the sword, and carried off their spoil. The cities of Kakunakinzarbara(?), Halbuknu, Shu— . . . Anzaria, of the upper and lower rivers, I captured and 4,000(?) *zim-pâni*, their warriors, 4,820 . . . . . [their(?) people], I received in my camp. The cities of Kisheshlu, Kindâu, Anzaria and Bît-Gabia, which I captured, I rebuilt; Kâr-Nabû Kâr-Sin, Kâr-Adad and Kâr-Ishtar, I called their names.

15. For the subjugation of the land of Medes, I strengthened Dûr-Sharrukîn, ... of 22 city prefects of the mighty Medes [I received] tribute . . . . . the city of Kimirra of the land of Bît-Hamban I captured. 2,530(?) people, together with their possessions, I carried off. (*Whole line missing.*)

16. . . . . . which lies on the shore of the sea, which from days long (past) . . . . . they had defeated . . . . . of the land of Kue, and . . . . . I brought them down to the sea(shore), and slew them, great and small, with the sword. The cities of Harrua, Ushnanis, Ab— . . . of the land of Kue, which Mitâ, king of Muski, ⌜had taken⌝, I captured, I carried off their spoil.

17. The tribes of Tamud, ⌜Ibâdid⌝, Marsimanu and Haiapâ, distant Arabs, who inhabit the desert, who know neither high nor low official (governors nor superintendents), and who had not brought their tribute to any king,—with the weapon of Assur, my lord, I struck them down, the remnant of them I deported and settled them in Samaria.

18. From Pir'u,[1] king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Arabia, It'amra, the Sabean, the kings of the seacoast and the desert,

[1] Pharaoh.

I received gold, products of the mountain, precious stones, ivory, seed of the maple(?), all kinds of herbs, horses, and camels, as their tribute. ⌜I defeated⌝ Mitâ, king of Muski, in his province. The cities of Harrua and Ushnanis, fortresses of the land of Kue, which he had held by force since distant days I restored to their (former) status (*lit.*, place).

Year 8. Against Urartu (Armenia) (ll. 101–39)

19. In my eighth year of reign I went against the lands of the Manneans (and) Medes. The tribute of the Manneans, Ellipi . . . . . (of) the mayors of the mountain (towns) I received. Zizî and Zalâ, mayors of the province of ⌜Gizilbundi,⌝ whose (*pl.*) tribute the kings who went before me had not received, their gifts I received and . . . . . (*Line lost.*) [Mitatti of Zikirtu⌝, I defeated; 3 of his strong cities, together with 24 cities of their neighborhood, I captured, I carried off their spoil. Parda, his royal city, I burned with fire, and he, together with the people of his land, ran away to be seen no more.

20. I defeated Ursâ, the Armenian, (killing) countless (of his people). 260 of his royal seed, who (constituted) his cavalry, I captured with my own hand. To save his life he mounted a mare and ascended his mountain. 5 *bêru* ("double-hours") of land, from Mount ⌜Uaush, to] Mount Zimur I pursued him. Mount Uishdish, a mountain district of the Manneans, I took away from him and gave it [to] Ullusunu of the Manneans. The city of Ushkaia, the fortress at the pass to the province of ⌜Zaranda⌝, strongly built in Mount Mallâu, the cypress mountain, together with 115 of its cities ⌜I captured⌝. The city of Ashtania on (*lit.*, of) the border of Bît-Sangibuti, the cities of Tarui, Tarmakisa of the Dalaia plain, the city of Ulhu, which is at the foot of Kishpal Mountain, 21 strong cities, together with 140 cities of their neighborhood, which are on Mount Arzabia, I captured, I burned with

fire. [7] strong cities, together with 30 cities of their neighborhood, of the land of ⌜Armarialî,⌝ [which are at the foot of] Mount Ubianda, I captured. The city of Arbu where Rusâ . . . . . [Riar], the city of ⌜Ishtardûri⌝ . . . . . I captured; 30 strong cities of Aiâid, a district on the shore of the sea, the cities of Argishtiuna and Kallania, which, on Mount Arsidu and Mount —unia, were built among them, —five fortresses which are in the neighborhood of Mount Uaiaush, together with 30 cities of the Uaiaush district, I captured, I burned with fire.

21. From Ianzû, king of the Nairî-land, I received tribute in Hubushkia, his strong city,—horses, cattle, sheep.

22. Urzana of the city of Musasir, who had transgressed against the oath taken by Assur and Marduk, and who sent a . . . . word to Ursâ of Armenia:—Assur, my lord, gave me courage and with one of my chariots and 1,000 of my "rough riders" and foot soldiers, who are mighty in battle, over the mountains Shîak, Ardikshi, Ulâiau, and Alluria, steep mountains, where the terrain was favorable, I advanced on horseback, and where it was bad, on foot. And Urzana of Musasir heard of the approach of my expedition and fled like a bird, climbing the steep mountain. Musasir, the abode of the god Haldia, I besieged and the wife of Urzana, his sons, his daughters, 6,170 people, 690 mules and asses, 920 [cattle], 100,225 sheep, I brought out (therefrom); 34 talents, 18 minas of gold, 160 talents, 2½ minas of silver, white bronze, lead . . . . . precious stones in large numbers . . . . . whose settings . . . . . colored (woolen) garments and linen, in countless numbers . . . . . together with x+4 talents, 3 minas of gold, [162] talents, 20 minas of silver . . . . . *udê* (of) bronze (and) iron, which were numberless . . . . . together with a bronze bull, a bronze cow, a bronze calf, ... I carried off . . . . . to Assur I brought them in. The rest of their goods for . . . . . ⌜In

the wide land of Armenia, and all its mountains[1] I caused mourning to be, and for Ursâ, their king (gashing with) the knife, the razor, wailing . . . . . for (the rest) of his life, I established. That province I brought within the border of Assyria, and put it under the rule (*lit.*, hand) of my official, the lord chamberlain. Ursâ of Urartu,—the splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him and with his own iron dagger he stabbed himself through the heart, like a pig, and ended his life.

Year 9. Against the rebels in the Persian mountains and on the Upper Euphrates (ll. 139–77)

23. In my [ninth year of reign] against the lands of the Ellipi, Bît-Daiukki, Karallu, I marched. The people of Karallu had driven out my official and had made Amitashshi, brother of Assur-li', ruler over them. In Mount Ana, a mountain peak, I cut them down with the sword, and received in my camp 2,200 of their *zim-pâni*. I pursued Amitashshi and him, together with his allies, in[1] . . . . . people . . . . . I reckoned them . . . . . every . . . . . at that time . . . . . them bound . . . . . in order to take . . . . . against Azuk— . . . . . his name. . . . . .[1]

I commanded that he should exercise sovereignty and the heart(?) of Taltâ . . . . . and restored the damage, ... the land of Ba'it-ili, a province of Medea, which is on the border of Ellipi, ... the lands of Absahutti, Parnuatti, Utirna, the city of Diristânu, ... the lands of Uriakku, Rimanuti, the province of Uppuria, the lands of Uiadaue, Bustis, Agazi, Ambanda, Dananu, distant provinces on the eastern Aribi border, and the land of Nagira, [of] the mighty Medes, who had cast off the yoke of Assur, and were scattered over mountain and desert, like ⌜thieves⌝,—into all of their cities I cast gloom and turned all of their provinces into deserted (*lit.*, forgotten) mounds.

[1] All that is left of thirteen lines.

24. The tribute of Ullusunu, the Mannean, of Taltâ, of the Ellipi, of Bêl-apal-iddina, of Allabria, of 45 city chieftains of the mighty Medes, 4,609 horses (and) mules, cattle (and) sheep, in countless numbers, I received. Ambaridu of Tabal, . . . king of Bît-Buritish, of[1] Bît-Akukania . . . . . Hullî . . . . [together with] the spoil of his land, to Assyria I took him . . . . . their cities . . . . . for (in?) the stability of my dynasty, by my power(?) . . . had been. Hullî on his royal throne [I placed]. [The people of Bît-]Burutash I gathered together and put under his hand.

25. At the time that I . . . . Hullî . . . . . I presented to him and a daughter, together with the city of Hilakki, I gave to him and I extended his territory (*lit.*, widened his land). But that simpleton, who did not keep faith, sent to Ursâ, king of Urartu, (and) ⌜Mitâ, king of Muski], ... kings of the land of Tabal, who had seized (some) of my territory. I mustered the armies of Assur and utterly destroyed Tabal to its farthest border (*lit.*, finished Tabal, like a forgotten mound, to its farthest border). Ambaris, king of Bît-Buritish, together with the seed of his father's house, the foremost men of his land, in fetters (*lit.*, bound), with 100 of his chariots I took away to Assyria. The lands of Bît-Burutash (and) Hilakku I caused to dwell in peace, ... which does good(?), I had made therein. The people of the lands which Assur, my lord, had conquered, [I settled in them]. My official I set over them as governor, and Assyrian vassalage I imposed upon them.

Year 10. Against Tarhunazi of Melid (*ll. 178–207*)

26. In my tenth year of reign Tarhunazi the Melidean, who did not fear the name of the great gods,—the wide land of Kammanu, which ⌜violated⌝ the oath (*lit.*, curse) and protection of Assur, my lord, ... whom I drove back . . . .

[1] *I.e.*, native of Bît-Akukania.

on his royal throne I caused him to sit . . . . . I caused to perform his service. With the rulership of the lands . . . . . they intrusted him (*lit.*, filled his hand); his ear . . . . . to . . . [He directed words] of enmity against Assyria. In the anger of my heart [I conquered] Kammanu to its ⌈farthest border] . . . . . Meliddu, his royal city, I smashed like a pot. All of his people I treated (*lit.*, counted) as a flock of sheep. And that one entered [Til⌉-Garimmu, to save his life. That city I "covered like a cloud." They feared the (terrible) brilliance of my weapons and . . . . . Tarhunazi, their ruler, together with his warriors, I threw into fetters of iron. His wife, his sons, his daughters, with 500 of his captive fighters, I carried away to my city of Assur. Til-Garimmu I rebuilt; people which my hands had captured I settled therein. The land of Kammanu I seized in its entirety and placed it under (*lit.*, counted it into the hand of) my official. Service and vassalage, like that of Gunzinanu, I laid upon them. Ten strong fortresses I established round about it, and caused its people to inhabit dwellings of peace.

27. The cities of Luhsu, Burdir, Anmurru, Ki—, Anduarsalia, I fortified as outposts toward Urartu. The cities of Usi, Usian, Uargin, I established on the border of the land of Muski and closed their (of Muski and Urartu) doors so that none could come out. The cities of Ellibir, Shindarara, I established over against the people of . . . . . [Meliddu⌉(?) his royal city, together with the province . . . . . Mutallu of the land of Kumuhhu, who like(?) . . . . . .

28. At that time, the "covering" of the mountains of Hatti was like a cloud(?) . . . . . which in the days of my reign they brought, and I heaped up the goods of . . . . . Clean . . . . the palace treasure of the lands of Laris'u, Shuruman . . . . . the work of the god Nudimmut (Ea), shining copper in the land of Tushanira, [in] the land of Elipu, ———, iron of the land of Lammun, which . . . . . mag-

nesium, which made brilliant their *arushtu*, I(?) revealed (*i.e.*, discovered) . . . . shining marble from Mount Ammun, in front of(?) . . . I . . . splendid . . . , royal paraphernalia, which like lapis lazuli ⌜is white⌝ . . . . . Ba'il-sapuna, the great mountain, copper appeared at the same time(?) . . . . . of the land of Me— . . . . (on) these I poured out a heap of their dust and with(?) lead . . . . . I saw their ———, goods without number, such as my fathers had not received, in Dûr-Sharrukîn, my city, I heaped up and in Assyria (people) bought (things) at a price in silver like that in copper.[1]

Year 11. Against the rebels in Gurgum and Ashdod (ll. 208–28)

29. In my eleventh year of reign . . . . . [Tarhulara of Gurgum], whom his son Mutallu had slain with the sword and ⌜had seized his throne] . . . . . to avenge him [I marched forth]. [Tarhulara(?)[1], Mutallu, his son, in the strength of (his) body before the god . . . . . I bound his hands, made him unclean(?) and exposed him [to the public gaze(?)]. Mutallu, his son, together with his tribe of Bît-[Pa'alla], all there were, with the gold, silver and goods of his palace, which were countless, I counted as spoil. The people of Gurgum, to its farthest border, I pardoned once more (*lit.*, anew) and my official I set as governor over them. As Assyrians I counted them.

30. Azuru, king of Ashdod, plotted in his heart to withhold (his) tribute and sent (messages) of hostility to the kings round about him. Because of the evil he had done, I put an end to his rule over the people of his land and set up Ahimitu, his full brother, as king over them. The Hittites, plotters of iniquity, detested his rule and elevated (to the kingship) over them Iatna,[2] who had no claim to the

[1] Silver was as plentiful as copper.

[2] *V.*, Iamani. The name means "the Greek" (cf. Javan, Ionia).

throne and who had (*lit.*, knew) no (more) respect for authority than they (themselves). In the anger of my heart, with my war chariot and my horse(men) who never depart from my side in any dangerous(?) region, against Ashdod, his royal city, I advanced in haste. Ashdod, Gimtu (Gath) (and) Asdudimmu, I besieged, I captured. The gods dwelling therein, himself, together with the people of his land, gold, silver, the goods of his palace, I counted as spoil. Their cities I built anew and settled therein the people of the lands my hands had conquered. My official I set over them as governor. I counted them with the people of Assyria and they drew my yoke.

Year 12. Against the tribes on the lower Tigris and Euphrates (ll. 228–316)

31. In my twelfth year of reign, Marduk-apal-iddina (Merodach-baladan), son of Iakini, king of Kaldu (Chaldea), whose settlements are situated on the secluded (shore) of the sea of the east (the Persian Gulf), put his trust in the Bitter Sea and (its) mighty waves, and violated the oath and curse (invoked in the name of) the great gods, and withheld his tribute. Humbanigash, the Elamite, came to his aid. The (tribes of) Ru'a, Hindaru, Iatburu, Pukudu, all of the Sutû, desert folk, he alienated from me. He prepared for battle and descended upon the land of Sumer and Akkad. For 12 years, against the will (heart) of the gods, he held sway over Babylon, the city of the lord of the gods, and ruled it. Marduk, the great lord, saw the evil works of the (people of) Kaldu, which he hated, and decreed that his royal scepter and throne should be taken away (from him). Me, Sargon, the humble king, he singled out (*lit.*, chose definitely) from among all princes and exalted me (*lit.*, raised my head). That I might turn back the feet of the hostile and evil Kaldu folk from the land of Sumer and Akkad, he made mighty my weapons. At the command of the great lord Marduk I set my chariots (*lit.*, teams, spans) in order, I prepared the

camp, and gave the command to advance against the hostile and wicked people of Kaldu. But that Marduk-apal-iddina (Merodach-baladan), heard of the advance of my army, he strengthened his strongholds, gathered together his hosts. Dûr-Athara . . . . . he . . . . and the Gambulu people, who live at its side, he brought into it. He kept close watch (*lit.*, strengthened the guard)[1] against the advance of my army. 600 cavalry and 4,000 of his picked troops, who march at the front of his host, he assigned (*lit.*, gave) to them and (so) brought courage to their hearts. Their walls they raised higher than they were before. They cut a ditch from the Surappu River and flooded its (the city's) environs as with the mighty waves (of the sea). That city I besieged and captured before sunset (*v.*, before the "double-hour"-god of the day[2] was high). 16,490 people, together with their goods, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, I carried off.[3] Ba—, . . , Hazael, Hamdanu, Zabidu, Amma—, ... Ahê(?)—iddina, Aisammu,—8 chieftains of the ⌜Gambulu⌝ who dwell on the Uknû River, heard of the capture of that city and their hearts sank (*lit.*, were rent). From the Uknû they brought cattle and sheep (as) their heavy tribute and laid hold of my feet. In order that . . . . . that devastated land . . . . . I . . . . . and brought to an end its desolation(?). My official I set over them as governor; 1 talent, 30 minas of silver, 200 (*gur*) of barley, one from every 20 cattle and one from every 20 sheep, as yearly tribute, I laid upon them. The increase of their cattle and their sheep I assigned to Bêl, son of Bêl, for all time. Those (tribes) men I pardoned, for every three . . . . . one of their . . . . I took [as hostages?]. In Dûr-Athara I settled them anew. Its name I changed and called it Dûr-Nabû.

[1] Cf. § 258. [2] Evidently the moon.

[3] *A fuller text adds*, The rest of them who had fled before my weapons [made] the dangerous Uknû River and the reeds of the marshes their shelter.

32. The lands of Husikanu, Tarbugati(?), Tibarsunu , . . . , Hirutu, Hilmu,—6 provinces of Gambulu, together with 4 of the strongholds therein, I brought within the Assyrian border. The tribes of Ru'a, Hindaru, Iatburu and Pukudu heard of the conquest of the Gambulu and fled by night and betook (themselves to) the rough Uknû River. The Tupliash, a river of their defense, I blocked with piles of earth and reeds. Two fortresses I built, side to side, and starved them out. They came forth from the Uknû and laid hold of my feet. Ianuku, the chieftain of the city of Zâmê, Nabû-usalla of the city of Aburê, Pashshunu (and) Haukanu of the city of Nuhâni, Sa'lu of the city of Ibuli,—5 chieftains of the Pukudu; Abhatâ of the Ru'a; Huninu, Same', Sapharru, (and) Râpi' of the Hindaru;—horses, cattle and sheep, as their heavy tribute, they brought to Dûr-Athara and kissed my feet. I received their hostages. Service and vassalage like that of the Gambulu, I laid upon them and assigned them to (*lit.*, counted them into the hand of) my official, the viceroy of Gambulu. The rest of them, who had cast in their lot(?) with Marduk-apal-iddina (Merodach-baladan) and Shuturnahundu, and had betaken (themselves) to the Uknû River,—their settlements I overwhelmed like a flood. I let my army eat (the fruit) of their orchards; the date palms, their mainstay, the orchards, the wealth of their province, I cut down. To the Uknû River, the place of their concealment, I sent my soldiers and they defeated them. The people, together with their possessions, they carried off. The cities of Zâmê, Aburê, Iaptiru, Mahisu, Hilipanu, Dandan(?), Pattianu, Haiamanu, Gadiati, Amate, Nuhânu, Amâ, Hiuru, Sa'lu,—14 strong cities, together with the cities of their environs, on the banks of the Uknû, who had become frightened at the approach of my mighty weapons and had devastated their province, (these) came from out of the Uknû River, from afar, and laid hold of my feet. That province I

made (more) secure than it had (ever) been before, and placed it under the rule of my official, the viceroy of Gambulu.

33. The cities of Sam'una, Bâb-dûri, fortresses which Shutur-nahundu, the Elamite, had erected against Iatburu, I overwhelmed like the onset of a storm. Saninu(?) (and) Singamshibu(?), the commanders of the fortress(es), together with 7,500 Elamites, who were with them, and 12,062 people of . . . . . , wagons, horses, mules, asses, camels, as well as their many possessions, I carried off. Sam'una I rebuilt. I changed its name, calling it Bêl-ikîsha.

34. Mushezibu, Natnu, Ailunu, Daizzanu of the land of Lahiru, Airimmu, Bêl-li'(?) of the city of Sulaia,—6 chieftains of Iatburu, brought horses, mules, cattle and sheep into my camp and laid hold of my feet as a sign of (*lit.*, for) submission. Lahiru of Iâdibiri,[1] Sulaia, ... muk, Sam'una, Bâb-dûri, strong cities of Iatburu; Lahirimmu, Pillutu, of the Elamite border, together with the cities of their environs, on the bank of the Naditu, I brought (*lit.*, counted) within my(?) border. Til-Humba, Dunni-Shamshu, Bubê, Hamanu, strong cities of the land of Râshi, became frightened at the onset of my mighty battle-(array) and entered Bît-Imbî. That Shuturnahundu, their prince, to save them (*lit.*, their lives) from my weapons, took refuge(?) in the midst of the distant mountains.

35. With the help of Assur, Nabû, (and) Marduk, I crossed the Euphrates with my mighty hosts and turned my face toward the city of Dûr-Ladinnu, which is in Bît-Dakkuru. Deserted Dûr-Ladinnu I rebuilt and settled my warriors, strong in battle, therein. The might of Assur, Nabû, (and) Marduk, which I had made to prevail against those cities, Marduk-apal-iddina(Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniash (Babylonia) heard of in Babylon; fear for his own (safety) fell upon him in his palace and he, with his allies

[1] Cf. Vol. I, § 789. Lahiru of Idibirîna, and Vol. II, § 800.

(and) his soldiers, went out by night and turned their faces toward Iatburu of Elam. His ⌜royal paraphernalia(?)⌝, his bed, his chair, his footstool(?), his royal ewer, his necklace, he gave to Shuturnahundu, the Elamite, as bribes that he might avenge him. The wicked Elamite received his bribes, but feared my weapons, blocked his path and told him to go no (farther). When he heard the word of his avenger(-to-be), he sank to the ground, tore his garments, took up the knife (razor, *i.e.*, gashed himself), and raised the cry of lamentation. He, with his allies (and) his soldiers, hurried (tore themselves) away from Iatburu, entered the city of Ikbi-Bêl and sat down in sorrow. The people (*lit.*, sons) of Babylon (and) Borsippa, the temple wardens(?*êrib bîti*), the *ummânê*-officials, skilled in workmanship, who go before and direct (the people) of the land, (all these) who had been subject to him, brought the "remnant"[1] of Bêl and Sarpanit, (of) Nabû and Tashmetu, to Dûr-Ladinnu, into my presence, invited me to enter Babylon and (thus) made glad my soul. Babylon, the city of the lords, I entered amidst rejoicing and to the gods . . . . . before them I sacrificed. In his palace . . . . . .

36. . . . . of the lands of Arime (*v.*, Arame), Bît-Amukkani, Bît-Dakkuri, ... their heavy [tribute] I received. The former Borsippa Canal, which the kings, who lived before me, had dug,—I dug a new canal as a way for Nabû, my lord's(?), procession into Shuanna (Babylon).

37. The Hamarânu folk, who had fled before my weapons and had entered Sippar, who had kept plundering the Babylonians who went abroad (*or*, the caravans of the Babylonians),—I sent my officials, my governors, against them and they surrounded them completely—not one escaped, great or small—and smote them with the sword, and conquered (them).

[1] See Vol. I, § 762.

38. In the month of *Nisânu*, the month the going forth of the lord of the gods, I took the hand(s) of the great lord, Marduk (and) Nabû, king of all of heaven and earth, and finished the march (*lit.*, road) to the temple of the New Year's Feast. Sleek bullocks and fat sheep, (barnyard) fowl (and) geese(?), together with (an) unceasing (supply) of (other) gifts, I presented (*lit.*, spread out) before them. To the gods of Sumer and Akkad I offered [pure] sacrifices, ... Marduk-apal-iddina(Merodach-baladan), son of Iakinu, ... I received from him, ... in prayer and . . . . . of the great lord, ... the cities of Sumer and Akkad, ...

Year 13. Final attempt to subdue the Aramean tribes who had settled in Babylonia (ll. 317–401[?])

39. In the ⌜thirteenth⌝ year of my reign, in the month of *Airu*, I made ready my chariot (*lit.*, span) and set my camp in order in Shuanna (Babylon) . . . . . before me, the cities of . . . . . —bidaia, Ikbi-Bêl, Hi— . . . . . their (them) and the people of Ur, Uruk, Kisik and Nimid-Laguda he had carried off and brought into Dûr-Iakini, whose defenses he had strengthened. (The length) of a chain[1] he removed (the earth) from the front of its great wall and made the moat 200 cubits wide. $1\frac{1}{2}$ *GAR* (9 cubits) he made it deep and reached the nether waters. He cut a channel (leading) from the Euphrates and carried it up to its (the city's) environs. The city's meadows, where battles (are fought), he filled with water and cut the bridges (dykes). That one, with his allies (and) his warriors, pitched the royal tent in the midst of the ditches (canals) like a pelican(?), and set his camp in order. At the command of Assur, Shamash and Marduk, I caused my picked fighters to fly across his ditches like eagles. They defeated him. Himself, together with the whole of his royal

[1] *Ashlu* = 59 m.

host, I besieged and I slaughtered them in front of his feet like lambs. His warriors, his horses, broken to the yoke, I decimated with (my) arrows, and him I pierced through the hand with the point of my javelin. Like mice through holes, he entered the gate of his city. The Pukudu tribesmen, his mainstay(?), the Marshanai, together with the Sutû, who . . . . . I slaughtered before the city gate . . . . . I bespattered his people with the venom of death. His royal tent, his golden palanquin, his royal throne, (his) golden scepter, (his) golden couch, (his) golden footstool, (his) *udini* of gold and silver, his *kurgangani*, weapon (s and) implements of war, I took away from him. All of his people, who dwelt in the villages about his land, who had fled before my weapons, I . . . . . I caused to run loose(? wild) with the herds of cattle, camels, asses and sheep which . . . . . that . . . . . the great hosts of Assur plundered for three days and nights and carried off countless spoil. 90,580 people, 2,500 horses, 610 mules, 854 camels,—[this does not include] sheep(?), which my army carried off,—I received in the midst of my camp . . . . . cattle and sheep, which of their own accord . . . . . at the sides of his city I banded together and like swine they . . . . . the palms I cut down, ... the mighty . . . . . of his city moat . . . . . and fear for his own (safety) fell upon him and . . . . . he fled and his (abiding) place was seen no more. (*Eight lines gone.*) Dûr-Iakini, his stronghold, I burned with fire; its high defenses I destroyed, I devastated; its foundation I tore up, and made it like a mound left by the flood.

40. The people of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, who were imprisoned therein through no fault of theirs,—I broke their bonds and caused them to behold the light (of day). Their fields, which since days of old, during the anarchy in the land, the Sutû had seized, I returned to them. The Sutû, desert folk, I cut down with the sword. Their (*i.e.*,

the people of Sippar, etc.) borders, which had been encroached upon (*lit.*, seized), I restored to their former limits (*lit.*, place). The independence (freedom) of Ur, Erech, Eridu, Larsa, Kisik and Nimid-Laguda, I (re-)established, and brought back their captured gods to their cities. Their (the gods') revenues, which had stopped, I restored.

41. Bît-Iakin, north and south, as far as the cities of Sam'una, Bâb-dûri, Dûr-Telite, Bubê, Til-Humba, which is (are) on the border of Elam, I brought completely under my sway. The people of Kummuhu, which I had captured in Hatti, with the help of the great gods, my lords, I settled therein and made them occupy all of its waste places. On the Elamite border I had Nabû-dumuk-ilâni build a fortress, in the city of Sagbat, "to hinder the feet of the Elamite." That land I divided totally, and put it under the hand of my official, the viceroy of Babylon, and my official, the viceroy of Gambulu. And Upêri, king of Dilmun, who lives (*lit.*, whose camp is situated), like a fish, 30 *bêru* ("double-hours") away in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, heard of my lordly might and brought his gifts.

42. While I was bringing about the overthrow of (the tribes) of Kaldu (and) Arimu, (on the shores) of the sea of the rising sun, I waged bitter warfare against the people of Elam. My official, the viceroy of Kue (Cilicia), whom I had set up in the land of . . . . . of the west, and who ruled (some) people of (?) Mitâ (Midas, *v. adds*, king) of Muski, made raids(?) into his (Mitâ's) province, three times,—where the terrain was favorable, in the chariot, where it was difficult, on foot, and 1,000 warriors . . . . . their horses he took away from them;—not a sinner escaped. Two of the fortresses which defend his province, which were situated on a steep mountain, at the side of staggering [cliffs], ... he captured and smote the picked troops who fought his battle(s) . . . . his fortresses . . . . . he spared (*lit.*, allowed to live). 2,400

———s and slaves he carried off from his land. His strong cities, together with the towns of their environs, he destroyed, he devastated, he burned with fire. His ambassador, bringing a message of peace (and) 1,000 *zim-pâni* of his soldiers, he brought into my presence in the city of Irma'-mi(?) on the Elamite border, and made my heart rejoice.

43. And that Mitâ of Muski, who had not made his submission to (any of) the kings who lived before me, who had not sent his ambassadors, heard of the results coming from the conquests of my hand, which Assur (and) Marduk had granted me—in the sea of the east, ... the destruction of his land, the carrying away of his people, the subjugation of Upêri, king of Dilmun, whose abode is situated in the midst of the sea, ... in the midst of his land, distress . . . . . his ambassador, offering submission (*lit.*, servitude) and bringing tribute (and) gifts, he sent to me to the sea [of the east].

44. Silda(?) . . . . . Kurâ(?) . . . . . -Assur, 7 kings of Ia', a district of Atnana, whose distant abodes are situated a seven days' journey in the sea of the setting sun, who since days of old to the kings . . . . . together . . . . . their gifts they withheld . . . . . their heavy gifts they brought and came to make submission . . . . . my (trustworthy) official, who is fearless in battle, with my royal host, I dispatched to have vengeance on(?) him (or avenge him?) . . . . . the might of the hosts of Assur's troops, they heard (*var.*, saw) and, at the mention of my name, ... gold, silver, utensils of maple and boxwood, of the workmanship of their land, they brought to Babylon, into my presence, and [as Assyrians(?)] I counted them.

45. Mutallum, of Kummuhu, [a wicked Hittite], who did not fear the name of the great gods . . . . . Meliddu, his stronghold, (which) I had put under his rule, he . . . . . he put his trust in the high mountain and . . . . . withheld

tribute. He sent his messenger to Bît-Iakin, into my presence, to greet me; of the progress of my army in Assyria and the deeds I accomplished in Kaldu and Elam, he heard and . . . . . to save his life, day and night he spoke with his counselors. Against the steep mountain, my official, ... their widespreading armies, I sent against him with my royal host. For a distance of 6 double-hours, in front of(?) my(?) army's advance . . . . . his wife, his sons, his daughters, he forsook and fled alone and was seen no more. That city they besieged, and his wife, his sons, his daughters, together with the people of his land, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, they counted as spoil. . . . . gold, silver, garments of brightly colored wool, and linen garments, blue and purple garments, elephant hides, ivory, maple and boxwood, the treasure of his [palace] . . . . . they brought to Kalhu (Calah), into my presence.

46. The city[1] I rebuilt, people from Bît-Iakin [which my hands had conquered], I settled therein, my official, I set over them as governor; the left *turtan* of the house(?) I called him and . . . . . former . . . . . I established. His throne, 150 chariots, 1,500 horse(men), 20,000 bowmen, 10,000 shield-bearers, (and) bearers of the lance, I selected from among them and put them under his control. With the governors of my land I counted him and . . . . .[2]

Year 15(?) (ll. 402–14[?])

47. . . . . Taltâ, king of the Ellipi, whom in the course of my former campaign, [to the yoke] of Assur ⌜I had subjugated(?)⌝ . . . . . reached the appointed limit of life and fate carried him off, ... he trod [the path of death. Nibê and Ispabâra, sons] of his wives, for . . . . . the royal throne . . . . . with . . . . . battle(?) . . . . . they gave battle. Nibê that he might avenge

[1] Meliddu. [2] It is possible that the record of year 15 began here.

him, [hurried] a messenger to Shuturnahundu, the Elamite. . . . . [He lent his aid and came] to his rescue. Ispabâra, feared . . . . . and to save his life besought me [with prayer and fervent entreaty] and begged aid of me. Seven of my officials, governors, I sent to avenge him . . . . . promised submission(?). That one, together with 4,500 Elamite bowmen, fled to save their lives and went up into the city of Marubishti. Against the fortress of Marubishti, which rises above the plain, on a rocky peak, and with a structure . . . . . that fortress they overwhelmed as with a net. Him, together with his fighters they brought in bonds and fetters before me . . . . . Marubishtu I rebuilt, ... people . . . . . I brought up. Over all [of Elam] . . . . . people of Ellipi, to the farthest border, I caused to dwell in habitations of peace, my royal yoke [I placed upon them], and they were subject to me (*lit.*, drew my yoke).

Building of Dûr-Sharrukîn (*ll. 414–15 and 450–60*)

48. At that time, with the enemy people, captives of my hand, which Assur, Nabû and Marduk had brought in submission to my feet, at the foot of Mount Musri, above Nineveh, (*etc., same as in the Display Inscription, where the text is better preserved; see §§ 73 ff.*).

49. As for me, Sargon, who dwells in that place, may he (the god; *v.*, they, the gods) grant as my destiny long life (*lit.*, life of soul), length of days, health of body, joy of heart and radiance of spirit,—may (this decree) go forth from his holy lips.

50. The property of the enemy, rich gifts of (their) towns, the wealth of the four regions (of the earth), the products of mountain and sea, may I heap up therein.

51. In days to come, may the future prince among the kings, my sons, restore the ruins of that palace, find my inscription, anoint it with oil, pour out libations (upon it) and

restore it to its place. And Assur will hear his prayers. Whoever destroys my inscription and name, may Assur, my lord, overthrow his kingdom, destroy his name (and) his seed from the land. May he have no mercy upon him.

II. THE DISPLAY INSCRIPTION

52. The text of the so-called Display Inscription (German, *Prunkinschrift;* French, *Fastes*) stood on the wall slabs of Salons IV, VII, VIII, and X of the palace at Khorsabad. It was a résumé of the events from the year of accession to the fifteenth year of the reign (Winckler, *op. cit.*, Nos. 63, 67–75, 77).

53. Palace of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, favorite of the great gods. Assur, Nabû and Marduk have intrusted to me an unrivaled kingdom and have caused my gracious name to attain to the highest renown.

54. The rehabilitation of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon and Borsippa, I undertook, I made good the losses[1] of all of their subjects (clients, protégés) and put an end to their servitude. I pacified the people of Dêr, Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kullab, Kisik, and Nimid-Laguda. The freedom (immunity from taxes) of the cities of Assur and Harran, which had been overlooked (*lit.*, forgotten) for many days and whose clientship had ceased, I restored. Because the great gods looked (with favor) upon me in the constancy of their hearts and, above all princes, granted me manly power and made me strong (*lit.*, increased my stature), in the days of my sovereignty I was without a rival, in battle and combat I met (*lit.*, saw) no conqueror. I smashed all enemy lands like pots, and cast bonds upon the four regions (of the earth). I opened up mighty mountains whose passes were difficult and countless, and I spied out their trails. By main force I

[1] *Habiltashunu arib; lit.*, restored the loss(es resulting from the chaos into which the country had fallen). Cf. Display Inscription, § 78, and Ungnad in *MVAG*, LXXII, 346.

advanced over inaccessible paths (in) steep and terrifying places, I crossed all (sorts of) plains(?). In the might and power of the great gods, my lords, who sent forth my weapons, I cut down all of my foes from Iatnana (Cyprus), which is in the sea of the setting sun, as far as the border of Egypt and the land of the Muski,—the wide land of Amurru, the Hittite-land in its entirety, all of Gutium, the distant Medes on the edge of the Bikni Mountains, as well as the lands of Ellipi and Râshi which are on the Elamite border on the banks of the Tigris; the (tribes of) (I)tu'a, Rubu'u, Harilum, Labdudu, Hamranu, Ubulum, Ru'ua, Li'tau, on the banks of the Surappu and Uknû, (the tribes of) Gambulu, Hindaru, Pukudu, Sutû, desert folk of the land of Iatburu, all there were, together with the cities (villages) of Sam'una, Bâb-dûri, Dûr-Teliti, Hilimmu, Pillatum, Dunni-Shamash, Bubê, Til-Humba, of the border of Elam; Babylonia (Karduniash), north and south; Bît-Amukkani, Bît-Dakkuri, Bît-Shilani, Bît-Sa'alla, all of Chaldea, as much as there was; Bît-Iakin on the shore of the Bitter Sea as far as the border of Dilmun; —all of these I brought under my sway, over them I set my officers and governors, the yoke of my sovereignty I placed upon them.

55. From the year of my accession to the fifteenth year of my reign, I brought about the defeat of Humbanigash, the Elamite, in the plain of Dêr. I besieged and captured Samaria, carrying off 27,290 of the people who dwelt therein. 50 chariots I gathered from among them, I caused others to take their (the deported inhabitants') portion, I set my officers over them and imposed upon them the tribute of the former king. Hanno, king of Gaza, with Sib'e, *turtan* of Egypt, who had come out against me at Rapihu to offer battle and fight, I defeated. Sib'e became frightened at the clangor of my weapons and fled, to be seen no more. Hanno, king of Gaza, I seized with my own hand. The tribute of Pir'u (Pha-

raoh), king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Arabia, Ithamar, the Sabean,—gold, herbs of the mountain, horses and camels, I received. Kiakki of the city of Shinuhtu, who had cast off the yoke of Assur, and had withheld his tribute, himself, together with 30 of his chariots, 7,350 of his warriors, I counted as spoil. Shinuhtu, his royal city, I gave to Mattî of the land of Tunni and added horses and mules to his former tribute, and laid it upon him. Ambaris of Tabal, whom I had placed upon the throne of Hullû, his father, to whom I had given my daughter, together with the land of Hilakku, which did not belong to the territory of his father, and had extended his land,—that faithless one sent a messenger to Ursâ of Urartu and Mitâ of Muski, (proposing) to seize my territory. Ambaris, together with his family, relatives, the seed of his father's house, the nobility of his land, I carried away to Assyria, together with 100 of his chariots. There I settled Assyrians, who feared my rulership, I set my officers and governors over them and imposed upon them tribute and tax. Ia'u-bi'di of Hamath, a camp-follower, with no claim to the throne, an evil Hittite, was plotting in his heart to become king of Hamath, and had caused the cities of Arpadda, Simirra, Damascus and Samaria to revolt against me, had unified them (*lit.*, made them of one mouth) and prepared for battle. I mustered the masses of Assur's troops and at Karkar, his favorite city, I besieged and captured him, together with his warriors. Karkar I burned with fire. Him I flayed. In the midst of those cities I slew the rebels, I established harmony. 200 chariots, 600 cavalry, I gathered from among the people of Hamath and added them to my royal equipment (armament).

56. When an (untimely) fate carried off Iranzu, the Mannean, an obedient slave who bore (*lit.*, drew) my yoke, and I seated Azâ, his son on his throne, Ursâ, the Urartian, encouraged the men of Uishdish, Zikirtu, and Misiandu, the

great chiefs of the Manneans, to revolt and hostility, and they cast the corpse of Azâ, their lord, out on Mount Uaush, a precipitous mountain. Ullusunu, the Mannean, whom they had placed on the throne of his father, put his trust in the Urartian Ursâ and gave him 22 of his fortresses as a bribe. In the anger of my heart I mustered the masses of Assur's troops and, raging like a lion, I set my face to conquer those lands. Ullusunu, the Mannean, saw the approach of my march, left his city, and in terror hid himself (*lit.*, seated himself) in the secret (fastness) of the precipitous mountain. Izirtu, his royal city, Izibia, Armid, his strong fortresses, I captured and burned with fire. Ursâ, the Urartean, I smote on Mount Uaush, the precipitous mountain, and captured with my own hand 250 of his royal relatives (seed). 55 strong, walled cities, of his 8 provinces, together with his 11 towering fortresses, I captured and burned with fire. 22 fortresses of Ullusunu, the Mannean, I took away from him and brought (returned) them within the boundary of Assyria. 8 fortresses of Tuaiadu, a province of Telusina of Andia, I captured. 4,200 people, together with their possessions, I carried off. Mitatti, of the land of Zikirtu, became frightened at my weapons, and fled, himself and the people of his land, into the hills, to be seen no more. Parda, his royal city, I burned with fire, 23 large cities of its (*text*, their) environment, I captured and carried off their spoil. Shuandahul, Zurzukka, cities of the Manneans, which had put their trust in Mitatti, I captured, and carried off their spoil. I flayed Bagdatti, of the land of Uishdish. Daiaukku, together with his family, I deported and settled in the land of Hamath. Ullusunu, the Mannean, heard, in his precipitous mountain, of the deeds I was performing, came flying, like a bird, and seized my feet. I forgave his innumerable transgressions, forgot his crimes, had mercy upon him and placed him (once more) on the throne of his kingdom. 22 fortresses, together with 2 of his

strong cities, which I had taken from the hands of Ursâ and Mitatti, I gave (back) to him, and repaired the damage his land (had suffered). I made an image of my royal self, the might of Assur, my lord, I inscribed thereon, in Izirtu, his royal city, I set it up for all time.

I received the tribute of Ianzu, king of Nairî, in his royal city, Hubushkia,—horses, cattle and sheep, Assur-li'u of Karalla (and) Ittî, of Allabra, who had cast off the yoke of Assur and had deserted (the Assyrian cause)—Assur-li'u, I flayed, and the people of Karalla, all there were, and Ittî, together with his family, I tore away, and settled them in Hamath. The people of the cities of Sukkia, Bâla, Abitikna, Pappa, Lalluknu, I tore away from their places and settled them in Damascus and the Hittite-land. 6 cities of the land of Niksamma, a province, I captured. Shepâ-sharri, the governor of the city of Shurgadia I captured with my own hand. Those cities I turned over to the government of Parsuash. Bêl-shar-usur of the city of Kishesim,—him, together with his property, goods, palace treasures, I brought to Assyria; I set my officials as governors over his cities. Kâr-Urta (*? MASH-MASH*), I (re)named it. My royal image I fashioned and set up therein. 6 cities of its border I captured and brought under its government.

57. Kibaba, governor of Harhar, I besieged, I captured; himself, together with the people of his land, I counted as spoil. That city I restored, peoples captured by my hand, I settled therein, and set my official as governor over them. Kâr-Sharrukîn I called its name. The weapon of Assur, my lord, I set up therein; my royal image I erected in its midst; 6 districts on its border I captured and brought under its government.

The cities of Kisheshlu, Kindâu, Bît-Bagaia (and) Zaria, I besieged, I captured. These also I restored, naming them Kâr-Nabû, Kâr-Sin, Kâr-Adad, Kâr-Ishtar.

58. With a view to subjugating the Medes, I strengthened the defenses (guard) of the neighborhood of Kâr-Sharrukîn. 34 districts of the Medes, I conquered and brought them within the border of Assyria. I imposed upon them a yearly tribute of horses. The city of Erishtana, together with the cities of its neighborhood, which belonged to the district of Ba'it-ili, I besieged, I conquered, I carried off their spoil. The lands of Agazi, Ambanda, Madai (Media), on the eastern border of Arabia, who had withheld their tribute, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

Taltâ of the land of Ellipi, a subservient slave who bore (*lit.*, drew) the yoke of Assur,—5 districts of his borderland revolted against him and would not submit to his rule; I went to his aid, those districts I besieged, I captured; the people, together with their possessions and with countless horses, I carried off into Assyria, a rich (heavy) plunder.

59. Urzana of the city of Musasir, who trusted in Ursâ of Urartu, and forgot his vassalage (to Assyria),—with the masses of my troops I covered Musasir like a locust- (swarm) and that one, to save his life, fled alone and perished (*lit.*, ascended his mountain). I entered Musasir in triumph; his wife, his sons, his daughters, the property, goods (and) treasure of his palace, all there was, together with 20,170 people with their possessions, Haldia (and) Bagbartum, his gods, with their rich trappings, I counted as spoil. Ursâ, king of Urartu, heard of the destruction of Musasir, the carrying off of Haldia, his god, and with his own hands ended his life with his iron girdle dagger. Over Urartu, to its farthest border, I brought mourning, the people who dwelt therein I plunged into lamentation and sighing.

60. Tarhunazi, the Melidian, planned to offer resistance; the oath by the great gods he violated and withheld his tribute. In the anger of my heart I smashed Meliddu, his royal city, together with the cities of its environment, like pots;

himself, together with his wife, his sons, his daughters, the property, goods (and) treasure of his palace, all there was, with 5,000 of his captured warriors, I brought out of Til-garimmu, his royal city, and counted as booty. Til-garimmu I restored. Sutêan bowmen, captives of my hand, I made to occupy the whole of the land of Kammanu; I extended (its) border. That land I placed under (*lit.*, counted into the hand) my official, and laid upon them (feudal) dues and service, like those of Gunzinanu, the earlier king.

61. Tarhulara of Gurgum, whom his son, Mutallum, slew with the sword, and without my permission seated himself on the throne, and ruled his land;—in the fury of my heart I marched at top speed with my war chariot and my cavalry, which never leave my side in any dangerous(?) region, against the city of Markasi. Mutallu, his son, together with his family, of the land of Bît-Pa'llu, all there were, with the gold, silver, and property of his palace, which was without number, I counted as booty. The people of Gurgum, to its farthest border, I pardoned again (*lit.*, anew), my official as governor I placed over them; with the people of Assyria I counted them.

62. Azuri, king of Ashdod, planned in his heart not to pay (bring) (his) tribute, and sent (messages) to the kings round about him, (filled with) hatred of Assyria. Because of the evil which he had done, I did away with his rule over the people of his land; Ahimiti, his full brother, I set up as king over them. The Hittites,[1] plotters of iniquity, hated his rule and elevated (to reign) over them Iamanî[2] without claim to the throne, who like themselves did not know fear of my sovereignty. In the fury of my heart, I (did) not (stop) to gather the masses of my troops or to prepare the camp, but with my warriors, who do not leave the place of danger(?) at my side, I marched against Ashdod. That Iamanî heard of

[1] Note the general use of the word. [2] The Ionian, Cyprian.

the progress (coming) of my march, from afar, and fled to the side (boundary) of Egypt which is on the border of Meluhha (Ethiopia), to be seen no more. Ashdod, Gath, Asdudimmu, I besieged, I captured; his gods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, the property, goods (and) treasures of his palace, together with the people of his land, I counted as spoil. Those cities I restored; people of the lands my hand had conquered, from [the mountains] of the east, I settled therein, [and set my official over them as governor]; with the people of Assyria I counted them, and they bore (drew) my yoke.

63. The king of Meluhha (Ethiopia), who in the midst of . . . . . , an inapproachable region, a . . . . road (path) . . . (dwelt), whose fathers since the far-off days of the moon-god's time (era), had not sent messengers to the kings my fathers, to bring their greetings,—(that Ethiopian king) heard from afar of the might of Assur, Nabû and Marduk and the terrifying splendor of my royalty overpowered (*lit.*, covered) him and fright overcame (*lit.*, was poured upon) him, in fetters, shackles and bonds of iron, he cast him (the fugitive Iamanî) and they brought him before me into Assyria, (after) a most difficult journey.

64. Mutallum of the land of Kummuhu, a wicked Hittite, who did not fear the name of the gods, a planner of evil, plotter of iniquity, put his trust in Argisti, king of Urartu, an ally who could not save him, and stopped the yearly payment of tribute and tax and withheld his gifts. In the anger of my heart, with my battle chariot and cavalry, who never leave the place of danger(?) at my side, I took the road against him. He saw the approach of my expedition, left his city and was seen no more. That city, together with 62 strong cities of the rest of his (land), I besieged, I captured. His wife, his sons, his daughters, the property, goods and all kinds of valuables of his palace, together with the people of his land, I tore away,—not one escaped. That district I

reorganized. The people of Bît-Iakin, which my hand had seized, I settled therein; my official as governor I set over them. The yoke of my sovereignty I laid upon them. 150 chariots, 1,500 cavalry, 20,000 bowmen, 1,000 bearers of the shield (and) bearers of the lance, I selected from among them and put them under his control.

65. At that time Taltâ, king of Ellipi, a subservient slave who bore my yoke, reached the appointed limit (of life) and trod the path of death. Nibê (and) Ispabâra, sons of (different) wives, each claimed the (right of) accession to his royal throne, his wide land they totally divided, and got into a fight. Nibê, seeking vengeance, hurried a messenger to Shutur-Nahundu, the Elamite (king); he lent him aid and came to his rescue. Ispabâra, (also) seeking vengeance, and the safety of his life, besought me with prayer and fervent entreaty and begged aid of me. Seven of my officials, together with their armies, I sent to avenge him. The defeat of Nibê and the Elamite army, (which had come) to his aid, they brought about in the city of Marubishti. Ispabâra I placed on the royal throne, I repaired the damage Ellipi (had suffered) and put it under his control.

66. Merodach-baladan, son of Iakin, king of Chaldea, seed of a murderer (*lit.*, murder), prop of a wicked devil, who did not fear the name of the lord of lords, put his trust in the Bitter Sea, (with its) tossing waves, violated the oath of the great gods and withheld his gifts. Humbanigash, the Elamite, he brought to (his) aid and all of the Sutû, desert folk, he caused to revolt against me; he prepared for battle and made straight for Sumer and Akkad. Twelve years he ruled and governed Babylon, the city of the lord of the gods, against the will of the gods. At the command of Assur, father of the gods, and the great lord Marduk I made ready my span (*i.e.*, battle chariot), set my camp in order and gave the word to advance against the Chaldean, the treach-

erous enemy. And that Merodach-baladan heard of the approach of my expedition, he was seized with anxiety for his own (safety) and fled from Babylon to the city of Ikbi-Bêl, like a *sudinnu*-bird (a bat?), at night.[1] The inhabitants of his cities (*lit.*, his inhabited cities) and the gods who dwelt therein he gathered together into one (body) and brought them into Dûr-Iakin, whose defenses he strengthened.

67. The (tribes of) Gambulu, Pukudu, Damunu, Ru'ua (and) Hindaru, he invited and brought into it. He raised the battle cry. (Ground) by the chain,[2] he removed from the front of its great wall and made the moat 200 cubits wide. 1½ *GAR* (9 cubits) he made it deep and reached the nether waters. He cut a channel (leading) from the Euphrates, and carried it up to its (the city's) plain. The city's meadows, where battles (are fought), he filled with water and cut the bridges (dykes). That one, with his allies and his warriors, pitched the royal tent in the midst of the ditches (canals), like a pelican(?), and set his camp in order. I caused my fighters to fly across his ditches like eagles(?). They defeated him. The waters of his ditches they dyed with the blood of his warriors, like wool. The Sutû, his allies, who had turned aside to rescue him and had come to his aid, together with the Marshanians, I slaughtered like lambs and bespattered with the venom of death the rest of the rebellious people. And that one left his royal tent (with its) couch of gold, the golden throne, golden footstool(?), golden scepter, silver chariot, golden palanquin, and the chain about his neck, in the midst of his camp and fled alone. Like a rat(?) he crept along the side of the city wall and entered ⌈his city⌉.

68. Dûr-Iakin I besieged, I captured. Himself, together with his wife, his sons, his daughters, the gold, silver, property, goods and treasures of his palace, all that there was, and the rich spoil of his city, the rest of his rebellious people as

[1] Cf. Sennacherib, § 233. [2] *Ashlu, ca.* 59 m.

well, who had fled from before my weapons,—I gathered them all together and counted them as spoil. Dûr-Iakin, the royal city, I burned with fire; its high battlements I destroyed, I devastated; its foundation platform I tore up, like a mound (left by) a flood, I made it. The citizens of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon and Borsippa, who were imprisoned therein for no crime (*or*, detained against their will) I set free and let them see the light (of day). I restored to them their fields which the Sutû had seized long since, during the disturbances in the land. The Sutû, desert folk, I cut down with the sword; their abandoned (*lit.*, forgotten) districts (ranges, stamping-grounds) which had been given up during the anarchy in the land, I put at their disposal.

69. The freedom of Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kullab, Kisik (and) Nimid-Laguda I (re-)established and returned their captured gods to their shrines (places). Bît-Iakin, north and south, as far as the cities of Sam'una, Bâb-Telitum, Bubê, (and) Til-Humba which are on the Elamite border, I brought completely under my sway and settled therein people of Kummuhu, which is in the Hittite-land, whom my hand had captured with the aid of the great gods, my lords; I had them inhabit its devastated areas. On the Elamite border, at Sagbat, I had Nabû-dumuk-ilâni build a fortress to hinder any advance (*lit.*, the feet) of the Elamite. That land I divided totally and turned it over to (*lit.*, counted it into the hands of) my official, the governor of Babylon, and my official, the governor of Gambulu.

70. Into Babylon, the city of the lord of the gods, joyfully I entered, in gladness of heart, and with a beaming countenance. I grasped the hand(s) of the great lord Marduk, and made the pilgrimage (*lit.*, completed the march) to the "House of the New Year's Feast." 154 talents, 26 minas, 10 shekels of shining gold, 1,604 talents, 20 minas, of bright silver, bronze (and) iron—there was no counting them—*KA*-

stone, lapis lazuli, *UD-ASH*-stones, *muhhu-digili*-stones, *UD-ASH*-stones, *mushgarru*-stones, in heaps; violet and purple (goods), brightly colored (woolen) garments, and garments of linen; boxwood, cedar, cypress, all kinds of shrubs (evergreens), the product of Mount Amanus, whose odor is pleasant, I gave as gifts to Bêl, Sarpanit, Nabû, Tashmet and the gods who dwell in the metropolises of Sumer and Akkad, from the year of my accession to my third year (of reign). Upêri, king of Dilmun, who lives (*lit.*, whose camp is situated) like a fish 30 *bêru* ("double-hours") away in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, heard of the might of Assur, Nabû (and) Marduk and sent his gifts. And seven kings of Ia', a district of Iatnana (Cyprus) whose distant abodes are situated a seven days' journey in the sea of the setting sun, and the name of whose land, since the far-off days of the moon-god's time (era), not one of the kings, my fathers who (ruled) Assyria and Babylonia, had heard, (these kings) heard from afar, in the midst of the sea, of the deeds which I was performing in Chaldea and the Hittite-land, their hearts were rent, fear fell upon them, gold, silver, furniture of maple(?) and boxwood, of the workmanship of their land they brought before me in Babylon, and they kissed my feet.

71. While I was engaged in the subjugation of Bît-Iakin and the overthrow of the Aramean (tribes) and while I was waging bitter warfare against the land of Iatburu, which is on the border of Elam, my official, the governor of Kue (Cilicia) made a raid against Mitâ of the land of Muski and three of his provinces. His cities he destroyed, devastated and burned with fire. Their heavy spoil he carried off. And that Muskean Mitâ, who had not made his submission to the kings who went before me, without changing his mind (*i. e.*, he had consistently refused submission), sent his messenger to me, to the sea of the rising sun (where I was),

(offering) to do (feudal) service and to pay (bring) tribute and gifts.

72. At that time I built a city with (the labor) of the peoples of the lands which my hands had conquered, which Assur, Nabû and Marduk had brought in submission to my feet, so that they bore (drew) my yoke, at the foot of Mount Musri, above Nineveh, according to the command of god and the prompting of my heart, and I called its name Dûr-Sharrukîn. Ea, Sin, Shamash, Nabû, Adad, Urta, and their great consorts, who were born in succession (fixed order?) in Eharsaggalkurkurra, the mountain of Arallu (the lower world), took up their joyous residence in splendid (*lit.*, brilliant) temples (and) artistic shrines in the midst of Dûr-Sharrukîn. Perpetual (*lit.*, unceasing) offerings I established as their income. *nisakku*, *ramku* and *surmahhi* priests, to receive their offerings, to learn their divine(?) will (oracular decision), ——— before them, [I appointed].

73. Palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, *musukkani*-wood (mulberry?), cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio, the "Palace Without a Rival,"[1] for my royal abode I built therein. Upon dedicatory tablets of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, jasper, alabaster, bronze, lead, iron, *abar* (magnesite), boughs of evergreens, I laid their (the different palaces') foundation platform, I built their brickwork, with great beams of cedars I roofed them. Door-leaves of cypress and maple I bound with a sheathing of shining bronze and set them up in their gates. A portico, patterned after a Hittite (Syrian) palace, which in the tongue of Amurru they call a *bît-hilanni*, I built before their gates. Eight lions, in pairs, weighing 4,610 talents, of shining bronze, fashioned according to the workmanship of Ninagal, and of dazzling brightness (*lit.*, full of brightness); four cedar columns, exceedingly high, each 1 *GAR* in thickness, products of Mount Amanus,

[1] Cf. §§ 362 f.

I placed on top of the lion-colossi, I set them up as posts to support their doors. Mountain-sheep (as) mighty protecting deities, I cunningly constructed out of great blocks of mountain stone, and, setting them toward the four winds (of heaven), I adorned their entrances. Great slabs of limestone,—the (enemy) towns which my hands had captured I sculptured thereon and I had them set up around their (interior) walls; I made them objects of astonishment. (Reliefs of) the towns of the (enemy) lands, which I had captured through the might of Assur, my lord, from beginning to end, I used as adornments in those palaces, thanks to the sculptor's art.

74. In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, I invited into them, Assur, father of the gods, the great lord, the gods and goddesses who abide in Assyria; offerings of ruddy *sariru* (an alloy of gold and copper?) and bright silver, manifold gifts, a rich oblation, I solemnly set before them and made their spirits glad. Sleek bullocks, fat sheep, (barnyard) fowl, geese(?), doves, the brood of fish and birds, the immeasurable wealth of the deep (*apsu*), wine and honey, the products of the gleaming (snow-capped) mountains, the best of the lands which my hands conquered, which Assur, begetter of the gods, had added to the wealth of my kingdom, (there) I offered up before them with sacrifices of pure ———, spotless oblations, clouds of incense,—and unceasing service. For the gift of health (*lit.*, goodness of life), (and) length of days, for the stability of my rule, I fell on my knees in adoration, I poured out my prayers before him. The great mountain, Bêl (Enlil), lord of (all) lands, who dwells in Eharsaggalkurkurra, the gods and goddesses who abide in Assyria, turned aside (and entered) their city amid jubilation and feasting. With the princes of (all) countries, the governors of my land, scribes and superintendents (justices), nobles, officials and elders of Assyria, I took up my abode in that palace and instituted a feast of music. Gold, silver, vessel

of gold (and) silver, precious stones, bronze, iron, vessels of bronze, all (kinds) of shrubs (evergreens), choice oil, brightly colored (woolen) garments and robes of linen, violet and purple (cloth), elephant hides, ivory, antimony, maple(?) and boxwood, large Egyptian horses, broken to the yoke, mules, asses, camels, cattle,—as their rich gifts, I received.

75. Upon that city and palace, may Assur, father of the gods, let fall the abiding light of his holy countenance for all time to come (*lit.*, unto distant days), may their restoration (renewal) be ordered,—may (this command) be on his holy lips. May the protecting colossus (and) the guardian god, hold sway therein, day and night; may they not leave (*lit.*, depart from) its side.

At his command, may the prince, their builder, reach and attain to old age (and abundant) posterity, may their founder live (*lit.*, survive) into the distant days (of the future). May (this command) go forth from his holy lips; may he who dwells in them make jubilation in health of body, joy of heart, well-being of soul; may he have abundance of luck (*or*, *perhaps*, have his fill of pleasure).

III. THE DISPLAY INSCRIPTION OF SALON XIV

76. The text of this inscription, given in Winckler, *op. cit.*, Nos. 56–57, 61–62, 53–54, has been thoroughly revised by Weissbach, *ZMDG*, LXXII, 176 f.

77. Palace of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions (of the world), favorite of the great gods; Assur, Nabû and Marduk have intrusted to me an unrivaled kingdom and have caused my gracious name to attain unto the highest (renown).

78. The (re)habilitation of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon and Borsippa I undertook. I made good the losses[1] of all their

[1] *Mushallimu habiltishunu;* cf. § 54 n.

subjects and (re-)established the freedom of Dêr, Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kullab, Kissik and Nimid-laguda, and pacified their people. The freedom (from taxes) of the cities of Assur and Harran, which had been overlooked (*lit.*, forgotten) since the days of old and whose feudal protection (clientship) had ceased, I restored.

79. Under the protection of the great gods I marched to and fro, insubordinate lands and inaccessible (unopened) mountain regions I brought in submission to my feet. I made . . . . . I smashed the might of Humbanigash, the Elamite, destroyed the lands of Karallum and Shurda, the cities of Kishesim and Harhar, the Medes, up to the border of Mount Bikni. I laid the yoke of Assur upon the land of Ellipi, I ⌜devastated⌝ Urartu (Armenia), carried off the spoil of the city of Musasir, I destroyed the lands of Andia and Zikirtu. The harassed Manneans I caused to inhabit abodes of peace. I slew the princes of Hatti, of the cities of Carchemish and Kummuhu. Gunzinanu of Kammanu I tore out of Melid, his royal city, and over these lands I set governors. I destroyed the kingdom of Tarhulara of Markasu. The whole territory of the wide land of Gurgum I brought as a whole within the Assyrian border. Iamani of Ashdod feared my weapons, left his wife, his sons and his daughters (behind), fled to the border of Egypt which is on the frontier of Meluhha (Ethiopia) and lived there like a thief (an outlaw). Over the whole of his wide land and his prosperous people I set my officials as governors. I extended the borders of Assur, king of the gods.

80. As for the king of Meluhha, the fear of the splendor of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him, they cast him into iron fetters—(binding) his hands and feet, and brought him to Assyria into my presence. . . . . I plundered the city of Shinuhtu, Samirina (Samaria) and the whole land of Bît-Humria (Israel). I drew the Iamanean (Ionian, Cypri-

an) from out the sea of the setting sun, like a fish. I deported (the people) of the lands of Kasku, Tabalu and Hilakku. I drove out Mitâ (Midas), king of the land of Muski. By the city of Rapihu I defeated Egypt. Hanûnu (Hanno), king of Gaza, I counted as booty. I subdued seven kings of the land of Ia', a district of the land of Iatnana, whose abodes were situated seven days' journey in the midst of the sea of the setting sun. And Merodach-baladan, king of Chaldea, who dwelt on the shore of the Bitter Sea, who exercised the kingship over Babylon against the will of the gods, my mighty hand conquered. All of his wide land I divided from end to end, totally, and put it under my officials, the governor of Babylon and the governor of the land of Gambulu. The yoke of Assur I imposed.

81. Upêri, king of Dilmun, whose camp is situated a journey of 30 *bêru* in the midst of the sea, like a fish, heard of the might of Assur and brought his gifts.

82. In the might of Assur, Nabû and Marduk, the great gods, my lords, who sent forth my weapons, I cut down all of my enemies. From the land of Iatnana of the midst of the sea, to the border of Egypt and Muski, the land of Kummuhu, the city of Meliddu, the wide land of Amurru, Hatti in its entirety, all of the land of Gutium, the distant Medes who live on the border of the Bikni Mountains, the lands of Râshi and Ellipi which are on the Elamite frontier, the Arameans who dwell on the banks of the Tigris, the Surappi and the Uknû, as well as the Sutû, desert folk of the land of Iatburu, all there were, from the land of Sam'una to the cities of Bubê, Til-humba of the Elamite border, Babylonia (Karduniash) north and south, Bît-Iakin which is on the shore of the Bitter Sea, up to the Dilmun border, I brought under one rule and added them to the territory of Assyria. My officials I set over them as governors, the yoke of my rule I imposed upon them. They accepted (drew) my yoke.

83. At that time, with the (labor) of the enemy peoples my hands had captured, I built a city at the foot of Mount Musri above Nineveh, according to the command of [god and the prompting of my heart, and called its name Dûr-Sharrukîn[1]. A park like unto Mount Amanus, in which were set out every tree of the Hittite-land, the plants (fruit-trees) of every mountain, I laid out by its side. The site of this (new city) none among the 350 ancient princes who lived before me, who exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of Enlil, had thought of (*lit.*, remembered) nor did he know how to settle it, nor did he think of digging its canal or setting out its orchards:—to settle that city, to build its great shrines, the abodes of the great gods, and the palaces for my royal abode, day and night I planned. I gave the order and I commanded that it be built. In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, in the month of *Simânu*, on an *eshsheshu* (feast) day, I made them carry the basket and mold bricks.

84. In the month of *Abu*, the month of the laying of the foundation platform of city or house, when all the black-headed (race of men) construct booths (shade) for their abodes, upon gold, silver, bronze, precious stones, plants of Mount Amanus, I set in rows its masonry, laid its foundation walls, constructed its brickwork. Mighty shrines, built firm as the foundation of eternity, I constructed therein for Ea, Sin, Ningal, Shamash, Nabû, Adad and Urta and their spouses. Palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, lime and pistachio-wood, I built, at their lofty command, for my royal dwelling-place; with great beams of cedar I roofed them; door-leaves of cypress and mulberry I covered with a sheathing of shining bronze and hung them in their entrances. A portico, patterned after a Hittite palace, which they call a *bît-hilani* in the Amorite tongue, I built in front of their gates. Eight lions, in pairs, weighing 4,610 talents, of shining bronze, fashioned according

to the workmanship of Ninagal, and of dazzling brightness; four cedar columns, exceedingly high, each 1 *GAR* in thickness, products of Mount Amanus, I placed on top of the lion-colossi, and set them up as posts to support their doors. Mountain sheep, as mighty protecting deities, I cunningly constructed out of great blocks of mountain stone and set them up by their entrances, toward the four winds (of heaven). Great slabs of limestone,—the (enemy) towns which my hands had captured, I sculptured thereon and had them set up around their (interior) walls; I made them objects of astonishment.

85. 16,283[1] cubits I made the circuit of its wall, and upon the (bed rock) of the high mountain I laid its foundation platform. Toward the front and back, and on both sides, toward the four winds (of heaven) I opened eight gates. *Shamash-mushakshid-irnittia* ("Shamash Makes My Might Prevail"), *Adad-mukîn-hegallishu* ("Adad Establishes Its Abundance"), I called the gates of Shamash and Adad which face the east; *Bêl-mukîn-ishdi-alia* ("Bêl Establishes the Foundation of My City"), *Bêlit-mudishshat-hisbi* ("Bêlit Increases Plenty"), I named the gates of Bêl and Bêlit which face the north; *Anu-mushallim-ipshit-kâtia* ("Anu Prospers the Work of My Hands"), *Ishtar-mushammihat-nishêshu* ("Ishtar Enriches His People"), I gave as names to the gates of Anu and Ishtar which face the west; *Ea-mushtêshir-nakbishu* ("Ea Makes Its Springs Flow Abundantly"), *Bêlit-ilâni-murappishat-talittishu* ("Bêlit-ilâni Spreads Abroad His Offspring"), I called the names of the gates of Ea and Bêlit-ilâni which face the south; *Assur-mushalbir-palê-sharri-êpishishu-nâsir-ummânâtishu* ("Assur Makes the Years of the King, Its Builder, Grow Old and Guards Its Troops") was the name of its wall, *Urta-mukîn-temen-alishu-ana-labar-ûmê-rukûti* ("Urta Establishes the Foundation Platform of

[1] *Lit.*, 4 *sar*, 3 *ner*, 1 *soss*, 1½ *GAR*, 2 cubits.

His City for All Time to Come"), was (the name) of its outer wall.

86. Peoples of the four regions (of the world), of foreign tongue and divergent speech, dwellers of mountain and lowland, all that were ruled by the Light of the gods, the Lord of all, I carried off at the command of Assur, my lord, by the might of my scepter. I unified them and settled them therein. Assyrians, fully competent to teach them how to fear god and the king, I dispatched to them as scribes and sheriffs (superintendents).

87. After I had completed the construction of their city and my palace, I invited Assur, father of the gods, the great lord, and Ishtar, who dwell in Assyria, into its midst. Abundant offerings, rich gifts, presents which had no end, I brought before them. Sacrifices of pure ——— I offered to them. With the princes of the four regions (of the world), the governors of my land, the nobles, officials and elders of Assyria I took up my abode in my palace, and I prepared a feast. Gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, bronze, iron, brightly colored (woolen) (and) linen garments, violet and purple cloth, antimony, elephants' hides, ivory, maple and boxwood, all kinds of precious royal treasure, large Egyptian horses, broken to the yoke, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep—as their rich gifts I received.

88. Upon that city and palace, the object of my heart's unswerving attention, may Assur, father of the gods, let fall the light of his holy countenance and his abiding (favor); for all time to come let him order them to be inhabited. May this command be on his holy lips. May the protecting colossus (and) the guardian god hold sway therein, day and night, may they not depart from its side.

89. At his command may the prince, their builder, reach and attain to old age and (abundant) posterity, may their founder live (survive) into the distant days (of the future).

For me, Sargon, who dwells in that palace, may he decree as my destiny, life unto distant days (eternal life), health of body, joy of heart, well-being (*lit.*, brightness) of soul,—let this command go forth from his holy lips. The goods of enemy lands, abundant gifts from (their) settlements, the riches of the four regions (of the earth), the wealth of mountain and seas, let me heap up therein.

90. In days to come, let the future prince, among the kings, my sons, restore the ruins of that palace, let him look upon my memorial stele, let him anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices and restore it to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers. But he who destroys my inscription and name, may Assur, my lord, overthrow his kingdom, blot out his name and his seed from the land. May he have no mercy upon him.

IV. THE BULL INSCRIPTION

91. The revised text of the Bull Inscription is given in Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–19. For the earlier editions see p. xii of Lyon's work.

92. Palace of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, favorite of the great gods; rightful ruler, to whom Assur, Nabû and Marduk have intrusted an unrivaled kingdom and whose name they have caused to attain to the highest renown; who established the freedom of Sippar, Nippur and Babylon, who remitted the taskwork of Dêr, Ur, Eridu, Larsa, Kullab, Kissik and Nimid-Laguda and quieted their people; who renewed the (feudal) protection of Assur, which had come to an end; who stretched his protecting shadow over Harran, and wrote the (charter) of their freedom,—at the desire of Anu and Adad; mighty hero, clothed with terror, who has sent forth his weapons to bring low the foe; who brought about the defeat of Humbanigash the Elamite, who subjugated the Manneans, and laid the

yoke of Assur on Karalla, Andia, Zikirtu, Kishesim, Harhar, the lands of the Medes and the Ellipi; who devastated Urartu (and) Musasir, (the city) of Ursâ, the Urartean, who in terror (*lit.*, great fear) ended his life with his own weapon; plunderer of the princes of Carchemish, Hamath, Kummuhu, Ashdod, —wicked Hittites, who did not fear the name of the gods, who plotted mischief, who set his officials as governors over all their lands, and numbered them among the people of Assyria; who overthrew Samaria, all of Bît-Humria and Kasku; conqueror of Tabalu, all of Bît-Burutash, and Hilakku; who at Rapihu defeated Egypt, and counted Hanûnu (Hanno), king of Gaza, as spoil; who plundered the city of Shinuhtu, drove out Mitâ, king of Muski; who restored the captured fortresses of Kue; who caught the Iamanean out of the midst of the sea, like a fish; who drove out Gunzinanu of Kammanu and Tarhulara of Gurgum, who captured all of their lands and brought them within the borders of Assyria; who subdued seven kings of Ia', a province of Atnana, who had their abode a journey of seven days in the midst of the sea of the setting sun; conqueror of Râshi, who subdued the tribes of Pukudu and Damunu as far as Lahira of Iatburu and imposed his yoke upon them; who defeated Merodach-baladan, king of Chaldea, the wicked enemy, who exercised dominion over Babylon against the will of the gods, his mighty arm (hand) capturing (him), who uprooted Dûr-Iakini, his great garrison city, piling up the corpses of his warriors in heaps at the bottom of the sea: Upîri, king of Dilmun, who had his abode a journey of 30 *bêru* in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, like a fish, heard (about it), and sent his gifts; the sagacious king, full of kindness, who gave his thought to the restoration of (towns) that had fallen to ruins, to bringing fields under cultivation, to the planting of orchards.

93. At that time, hard by the springs at the foot of Musri Mountain, above Nineveh, I built a city and named it Dûr-

Sharrukîn (*etc. Like Display Inscription of Salon XIV*, §§ *83 ff.*).

94. After I had completed the construction of the city and my palaces, I invited the great gods who dwell in Assyria into their midst in the month of *Tashrîtu*. I held a (*lit.*, their, the city's and palaces') dedication feast. From the princes of the east and west I received gold, silver, everything costly, (which would be) appropriate for these palaces, as their rich gifts. The gods who dwell in that city,—may every work of my hand be acceptable to them. That they will dwell in their shrines, and that my rule (dynasty) may be secure,—may this be their command to all eternity. Whoever destroys the work of my hands, injures my statue (*lit.*, features), brings to naught the law which I have established or blots out the record of my honors,—may Shamash, Adad and the great gods, who dwell therein, destroy his name and his seed from the land, may they set him in chains under (the heel) of his foe.

CHAPTER II

SARGON; THE KHORSABAD TEXTS—*Continued*

V. PAVEMENT INSCRIPTIONS I–V

95. The text of the inscriptions carved on the pavement of the gates (from which they are known as *Pavé des portes* texts) were published in Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, 36 f. There are five different inscriptions.

96. 1. Palace of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; the king who, with the help of Assur, Nabû and Marduk, beginning with Iatnana (Cyprus) which is in the midst of the sea of the setting sun, to the border of Egypt and the land of Mushki,—the wide land of Amurru, Hatti in its entirety, all of Gutium, the distant Medes, on the edge of the Bikni Mountains, the lands of Ellipi and Râshi which are on the Elamite border, all of the Arameans who live on the banks of the Tigris, Surappi and Uknû rivers, all of the Sutû, desert folk, of Iatburu, all there were, the city of Til-Humba which belongs to the Elamite territory, Babylonia (Karduniash) north and south, all of Chaldea's (cities), as many as there were, the land of Bît-Iakin on the shore of the Bitter Sea as far as Dilmun's border,—(the king) who brought (all these) under one rule and set his officials over them as governors, and (who) imposed upon them the yoke of his sovereignty.

97. 2. Palace of Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, the king who, with the help of Assur, Nabû and Marduk, beginning with Iatnana, which is in the midst of the sea of the

setting sun, as far as the border of Egypt and the land of Mushki, the wide land of Amurru, Hatti in its entirety, all of Gutium, the land of the distant Medes on the edge of the Bikni Mountains, the lands of Ellipi and Râshi, which are on the Elamite border, all of the Arameans who live on the banks of the Tigris, Surappi and Uknû rivers, as far as Dunni-Shamash; the cities of Bubê, Til-Humba which belong to the Elamite territory, Karduniash (Babylonia), north and south, the whole of Chaldea, as many as there were, Bît-Iakin on the shore[1] of the Bitter Sea, as far as Dilmun's border,—(the king) who brought (all these) under one rule and set his officials over them as governors and (who) imposed upon them the yoke of his sovereignty, and (who) at that time, following the command of god, built a city at the foot of Mount Musri, above Nineveh, and called its name Dûr-Sharrukîn; who erected palaces of ivory, maple, box-wood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio-wood, as his royal dwelling therein; who roofed them with great cedar timbers, covered door-leaves of cypress and mulberry with a sheathing of shining bronze and set them up in their entrances; who built a portico, patterned after a Hittite palace, which in the tongue of Amurru they call a *bît-hilani*, in front of its gates (doors); who set up as posts to support their doors eight lions in pairs, weighing 4,610 talents of shining bronze, which were fashioned according to the workmanship of Ninagal and were of dazzling brightness, (and) upon (which) lion-colossi he placed four cedar columns, exceedingly high, each 1 *GAR* in thickness, products of Mount Amanus; who cunningly constructed mountain sheep (as) mighty protecting deities, out of great blocks of mountain stone, and, setting them toward the four winds of heaven, adorned their (the palaces') entrances; who sculptured on great slabs of limestone (reliefs of) the (enemy)

[1] *V.*, on both shores.

towns which (his) hands had captured and had them set up around their walls, making them objects of astonishment; (reliefs of) the towns of (the enemy) lands, from one end of the world to the other, *etc.*[1]

98. 3. Palace of Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, the king who, with the help of Assur, Nabû and Marduk, beginning with Iatnana, which is in the midst of the sea of the setting sun, to the border of Egypt, and the land of Muski, the wide land of Amurru, Hatti in its entirety, all of Gutium, the land of the distant Medes on the edge of the Bikni Mountains, the lands of Ellipi and Râshi which are on the Elamite border; all of the Arameans who live on the banks of the Tigris, Surappi and Uknû rivers, as far as Dunni-Shamash, the cities of Bubê, and Til-Humba, which belong to the Elamite territory, Karduniash (Babylonia), north and south, the whole of Chaldea, as many as there were, Bît-Iakin on the shore of the Bitter Sea, as far as Dilmun's border,—all these I brought under one rule, set my officials over them as governors, imposed upon them the yoke of my sovereignty. At that time, with the (labor of) the enemy peoples which my hands had captured, which Assur, Nabû and Marduk had brought in submission to my feet and who bore my yoke, at the command of god, I built a city at the foot of Mount Musri, above Nineveh, following the promptings of my heart, and I called its name Dûr-Sharrukîn. Palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio-wood for my royal dwelling-place I built therein, and I invited into them Assur, the great lord, and the gods who dwell in Assyria. Pure sacrifices in great number I offered before them. From the princes of the four regions (of the world), who had submitted to the yoke of my rule, whose lives I had spared, together with the governors

[1] Like §§ 73 (end) f.

of my land, the scribes and superintendents, the nobles, officials and elders(?), I received their rich gifts as tribute. I caused them to sit down at a banquet and instituted a feast of music.

99. 4. Palace of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, favorite of the great gods, restorer (of the prosperity) of Sippar, Nippur and Babylon; who remitted the taskwork of Dêr, Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kullab, Kissik (and) Nimid-Laguda, who pacified their people; who renewed the autonomy of Assur, which had lapsed, who stretched his protecting shadow over Harran and, at the desire of Anu and Dagan, wrote (the charter) of their freedom. Mighty hero, who brought about the defeat of Humbanigash, the Elamite; who destroyed the lands of Karallu, Shurda, the city of Kishesu, the lands of Harhar, Media, Ellipi, imposing the yoke of Assur; who devastated Urartu, plundered the city of Musasir; who crushed the lands of Andia and Zikirtu; who pacified the Mannean-land, who blotted out (the lives of) the princes of Hamath, Carchemish (and) Kummuhu; who seized the land of Kammanu, belonging to Gunzinanu, whom he snatched out of Meliddu, his royal city, —over all of whose lands he appointed governors; who put an end to (*lit.*, changed) the kingdom of Tarhulara of the city of Markasi, who brought Gurgum in its entirety into the territory of Assyria; conqueror of Samaria and the whole land of Bît-Humria; who carried off the spoil of Ashdod and Shinuhtu; who caught the Iamaneans out of the midst of the sea, like fish; who uprooted Kasku, all of Tabalu, and Hilakku; who drove out Mitâ (Midas), king of Mushki; who defeated Egypt at Rapihu, and counted Hanûnu (Hanno), king of Gaza, as spoil; who subjugated seven kings of Ia', a province of Iatnana (Cyprus), which is located a seven days' journey in the midst of the sea; whose strong arm captured Merodach-

baladan, king of Chaldea, who lived on the shore of the Bitter Sea, who exercised dominion over Babylon, contrary to the will of the gods, who divided totally the whole of his wide land and assigned them to his (*one text*, my) officials, the governor of Babylon and the governor of Gambulu, and placed his yoke upon them;—Upêri, king of Dilmun, who had his abode a journey of 30 *bêru* ("double-hours") in the midst of the sea, like a fish, heard of the might of my sovereignty, and brought his gifts; who in the power and might of the great gods his lords, has carried his warfare (*lit.*, weapons) (to a successful issue) and has cut down all of his foes; who, beginning with Iatnana, which is in the midst of the sea of the setting sun, to the border of Egypt, and the land of Mushki, the wide land of Amurru, Hatti in its entirety, all of Gutium, the land of the distant Medes on the edge of the Bikni Mountains, the lands of Ellipi and Râshi on the Elamite border, (the Arameans) on the banks of the Tigris,—the tribes of Itu', Rubu', Harilum, Labdudu, Hamranu, Ubulum, Ru'ua, Litau, on the banks of the Surappi and Uknû, the Gambulum, Hindaru, Pukudu, Sutû, desert folk, of Iatburu, all there were, from the land of Sam'una, to the cities of Bubê and Til-Humba, which belong to the territory of Elam, Karduniash (Babylonia), north and south, Bît-Amukkani, Bît-Dakkuri, Bît-Shilani, Bît-Sa'alla, the whole of Chaldea, all there were, Bît-Iakin, which is on the shore of the Bitter Sea, as far as Dilmun's border,—who brought all of these under his sway and placed his officials over them as governors and imposed upon them the yoke of his sovereignty.

At that time with the (labor of) the enemy peoples which his hands had conquered, which Assur, Nabû and Marduk his tutelary divinities, had given him as a gift, (and) at the command of god, at the foot of Mount Musri, above Nineveh, he built a city, following the prompting of his heart, and called it Dûr-Sharrukîn.

100. Palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio-wood, he built therein for his royal abode. With mighty cedar beams he roofed them, door-leaves of cypress and mulberry he bound with a sheathing of shining bronze and placed them in their entrances. A portico, patterned after a Hittite palace, which they call a *bît-hilani* in the Amorite tongue, he built in front of its gates (doors); eight lions, in pairs, weighing 4,610 talents, of shining bronze, which were fashioned according to the workmanship of Ninagal, and were of dazzling brightness, four cedar columns, exceedingly high, each 1 *GAR* in thickness, products of Mount Amanus, he placed on top of the lion-colossi and set them up as posts to support their doors. Mountain sheep (as) mighty protecting deities he cunningly constructed out of great blocks of mountain stone and set them by their entrances, facing the four winds of heaven. Great slabs of limestone,—the (enemy) towns which his hands had captured he sculptured thereon and had them set up around their (interior) walls,—he made them objects of astonishment.

101. Assur the great lord and the great gods who abide in Assyria he invited into them and offered pure sacrifices before them. Offerings of shining *sariru* and bright silver, a rich oblation, he presented unto them, and made their spirits glad. Upon those palaces, may Assur, father of the gods, let fall the light of his holy countenance and his abiding favor, for all time to come, may their restoration be ordered,—may (this command) be on his holy lips. May the protecting colossus, the guardian god, wield unlimited sway therein, night and day; may they not depart from its side. At his command, may the ruler, its builder, reach and attain to old age, and (abundant) posterity, may their founder live into the distant days (of the future),—may (this command) proceed from his (Assur's) holy lips; may he who dwells therein,

make jubilation in health of body, joy of heart, well-being of soul; may he have abundance of luck.

102. 5. Palace of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; favorite of the great gods; I restored the prosperity of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon and Borsippa. [I remitted the taskwork of Dêr], Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kullab, Kissik, and Nimid-Laguda, I established their freedom. The autonomy of Assur and Harran, which since days of old had lapsed, and the (feudal) protection, which had come to an end, I restored. In the might of the great gods, the lords, I advanced and brought in subjection to my feet insubmissive lands and unyielding mountain (peoples). Beginning with the land of Iatnana, which is in the midst of the sea of the setting sun, as far as the border of Egypt and the land of Muski, the wide land of Amurru, Hatti in its entirety, all of Gutium, the land of the distant Medes on the edge of the Bikni Mountains, the lands of Ellipi and Râshi which are on the Elamite border, all of the Arameans who live on the banks of the Tigris, the Surappi and Ukrû rivers, all the Sutû, desert folk, of Iatburu, all there were, from Sam'una, Bâb-dûri, Dûr-Telitim, Bubê (and) Til-Humba, which belong to the Elamite territory, Karduniash (Babylonia), north and south, all of the Chaldeans, as many as there were, Bît-Iakin which is on the shore of the Bitter Sea, as far as Dilmun's border,—all these I brought under my sway and set my officials over them as governors, and imposed upon them the yoke of my sovereignty.

At that time, with (the labor of) the enemy peoples which my hands had captured, which Assur, Nabû and Marduk had brought in submission to my feet, who bore (drew) my yoke, at the command of god, at the foot of Mount Musri above Nineveh, I built a city, following the prompting of my heart, and I named it Dûr-Sharrukîn. Palaces of ivory, maple,

boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio-wood, I erected therein for my royal dwelling; with great beams of cedar I roofed them. Door-leaves of cypress and mulberry I covered with a sheathing of shining bronze and set them in their entrances. A portico, fashioned after a Hittite palace, which they call a *bît-hilani* in the tongue of Amurru, [I built opposite its gates]. . . . . .

VI. INSCRIPTION ON THE BACKS OF THE SCULPTURED SLABS

103. To proclaim the name and achievements of Sargon to those who might visit his capital after it had become a "ruin heap" and its sculptured slabs had fallen from the palace walls, he had the backs of these slabs inscribed with a short text. This is given in Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, 40.

104. Palace of Sargon, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, the great king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world); favorite of the great gods, who established the freedom of Sippar, Nippur and Babylon, who repaired their decay, helper of the poor, who made good their losses; who renewed the autonomy of Assur which had come to an end, who remitted the taskwork of Dêr and quieted its dissatisfied (*lit.*, sighing) people; (most) powerful of all princes, who stretched out his protecting shadow over Harran, and, at the desire of Anu (and) Dagan, wrote (the charter of) its freedom. The king, who since the day of his (accession) to rulership, has had no equal (rival) and has not seen a conqueror in war or battle; who has smashed all lands like pots and has cast bonds upon the four regions (of the earth); who set his officials over them as governors and imposed upon them tribute and tax like Assyria's.

105. In my all-embracing wisdom and the fertile planning of my brain, which thinking Ea and Bêlit-ilâni had made to surpass that of the kings, my fathers, (and) following

the prompting of my heart, I built a city at the foot of Mount Musri, in the plain of Nineveh, and named it Dûr-Sharrukîn. Substantial shrines for Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad and Urta, I constructed therein with (artistic) skill and built palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio-wood, for my royal dwelling; I erected a *bît-hilani*, patterned after a Hittite palace, by their gates (doors) and beams of cedar and cypress I placed over them (for roofs). Animals like unto the creatures of mountain and sea, (made of) white stone, I set up by their entrances. Door-leaves of cypress and mulberry I hung in their gates. Its wall I established firm as the mountains, and peoples of the lands, as many as Shamash rules (shepherds), which my hands had conquered, I settled therein. The great gods who inhabit heaven and earth, and the gods who dwell in that city, granted me the eternal boon of building that city and growing old in its midst.

VII. FOUNDATION DEPOSITS

106. In the year 1854 there were discovered in the foundation of the palace at Khorsabad a chest containing six small inscribed tablets, such as have since come to light at Assur (see Vol. I, §§ 179 f., 706). Four of these (the bronze, silver, gold, and magnesite[?] ones) have survived, the other two, together with the chest, went down in the Tigris accident of May 23, 1855, in which so much of the archaeological materials gathered by the French were lost. The text was published by Lyon, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, pp. 20–27; and Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, 43 f.

107. 1. Palace of Sargon, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), favorite of the great gods, rightful ruler, to whom Assur and Marduk have intrusted an unrivaled kingdom and whose name they have caused to attain unto the highest renown; who established the freedom of Sippar, Babylon and Nippur, who re-

paired their decay, who made good their losses; who restored the feudal protection (clientship) of Assur, which had come to an end, who remitted the taskwork of Dêr and quieted its dissatisfied people; (most) powerful of all princes, who stretched out his protecting shadow over Harran, and wrote (the charter of) its freedom,—at the desire of Anu and Adad; mighty hero, clothed with terror, who sent forth his weapons to bring low the foe; the king, since the day of whose (accession) to rulership, there has been no (prince) equal to him, and who has not seen a conqueror in war or battle; who has smashed all lands like pots, and has cast bonds upon the four regions (of the world), who set his officials over them as governors, and imposed upon them tribute and taxes like (those imposed) upon the Assyrians.

108. Following my heart's promptings, at the foot of Mount Musri, in the plain of Nineveh, I built a city and named it Dûr-Sharrukîn. Substantial shrines I erected therein for Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad and Urta, the great gods, my lords, (*ll. 31–46 broken*) . . . . . [16,280] cubits, the numeral of my name, I made the circuit of its wall, establishing its foundation platform upon the bed rock of the mountain. Peoples of the four (regions), dwellers on mountain and (low)land, all that were ruled by the chief of the gods, the lord of all, I [brought under one rule] and settled therein. Assyrians, fully competent to teach them how to fear god and the king I dispatched to them as scribes and superintendents. The gods who dwell in heaven and earth, and in that city, listened with favor to my word, and granted me the eternal boon of building that city and growing old in its midst.

109. Whosoever destroys the work of my hands, injures my statue (*lit.*, features), brings to naught the law which I have established,—may Assur, Ningal, Adad, and the great gods, who dwell therein, destroy his name and seed from the land, may they set him in chains under (the heel) of his foe.

110. 2. Palace of Sargon, prefect of Enlil (Bêl), priest of Assur, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the king, who from one end (of the world) to the other, has brought under his sway the four quarters (of the earth) and has set up his governors. At that time, following the prompting of my heart, I built a city in the plain of Nineveh, at the foot of Mount Musri and named it Dur-Sharrukîn. An abode for Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad and Urta, the great gods, my lords, I erected therein. Images of their exalted divinities I caused to be fashioned with skill and I placed them in eternal shrines. Palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio-wood, I built therein, and with a *bît-hilani* ("portico"), patterned after a Hittite palace, I adorned their gates (doors). Beasts of mountain and sea I had them carve out of stone of the high mountain, according to Ninagal's art. I had them erected mountain high in their (the palaces') midst and made all of their entrances moon-bright with them. With beams of cedar and cypress I roofed them. Door-leaves of maple, boxwood and mulberry I hung in their doors. Its mighty walls I raised aloft like cliffs. I made them 10 great cubits thick and on top of 180 *tipki* (layers of brick) I fastened their coping. On tablets of gold, silver, bronze, lead, magnesite(?), lapis lazuli and alabaster I inscribed my name and I placed these in their foundation walls.

111. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him inscribe his memorial stele and set it up alongside of mine. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers. Whoever destroys the work of my hands, who obliterates (the evidence of) my noble deeds, may Assur, the great lord, destroy his name and his seed from the land.

112. 3. Palace of Sargon, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the king, who from one end (of the world) to the other, has

brought under his sway the four quarters (of the earth) and has set up his governors. Following the prompting of my heart, at the foot of Mount Musri, I built a city and called its name Dûr-Sharrukîn. An abode for Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad and Urta I erected therein. Images of their exalted divinities, Nin-igi-kug, maker of all, fashioned (*lit.*, begot) and they took up their abode in (their) shrines. Palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio-wood I built therein and I erected a *bît-hilani*, patterned after a Hittite palace, in front of their gates (doors), and beams of cedar and cypress I placed over them (for roofs). On tablets of gold, silver, bronze, lead, *abar* (magnesite), lapis lazuli and alabaster, I wrote the inscription of my name and placed (them) in its foundation walls.

113. Whoever destroys the work of my hands, who obliterates (the evidence of) my noble deeds, may Assur, the great lord, destroy his name and his seed from the land.

114. 4. Palace of Sargon, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the king who, from one end (of the earth) to the other, has brought under his sway the four regions (of the world) and has set up his governors. At that time, in the plain of Nineveh, and at the foot of Mount Musri, I built a city and called its name Dûr-Sharrukîn. An abode for Sin, Shamash, Adad and Urta, the great gods, I erected therein. Palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress and juniper, I built in its midst. On tablets of gold, silver, lead, magnesite, lapis lazuli and alabaster, I inscribed my name and placed them in its foundation walls.

115. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him inscribe his memorial stele, and set it alongside of mine. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers.

VIII. CYLINDER INSCRIPTION

116. The text inscribed on barrel cylinders in commemoration of the founding of the new capital at Dûr-Sharrukîn has come down to us in four copies. Two cylinders are preserved in the Louvre at Paris, and two[1] in the British Museum. See Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–12, and Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, 43, for the published text. An older edition is to be found in IR, Plates 36 f.

117. Sargon, prefect of Enlil, exalted priest of Assur, elect of Anu and Dagan, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), favorite of the great gods, rightful ruler, to whom Assur, Nabû and Marduk have intrusted an unrivaled kingdom, and whose name they have caused to attain unto the highest renown; who established the freedom of Sippar, Nippur and Babylon, who repaired their decay (weakness), who made good their losses; who restored (*lit.*, bound up) the autonomy of the city of Assur, which had come to an end, who remitted the taskwork of Dêr and quieted its people; the (most) powerful of all princes, who stretched out his protecting shadow over Harran and wrote (the charter of) its freedom, at the desire of Anu and Adad.

118. Mighty hero, clothed with terror, who sent forth his weapon to bring low the foe; the king, since the day of whose (accession) to rulership, there has been no prince equal to him, and who has not seen a conqueror in war or battle, who has smashed all lands like pots and who has cast bonds upon the four regions (of the earth); who opened up mighty mountain regions whose passes were difficult and countless, and who spied out their trails; who advanced over inaccessible paths, (in) steep and terrifying places, and crossed all (sorts of) plains(?); who brought under his sway, beginning with the land of Râshi on the Elamite border, the

[1] The cylinder known as L_2, long in the possession of Mr. T. K. Lynch, is now also in the British Museum.

people of Pukudu (and) Damunu, the cities of Dûr-Kurigalzu and Rapiku, all of the desert as far as the River of Egypt, the wide land of Amurru (and) the Hittite-land in its entirety; whose strong arm (*lit.*, hand) conquered, from Hashmar to Simashpatti, the distant Medes of the east (rising sun), the lands of Namri, Ellipi, Bît-Hamban, Parsua, the Mannean-land, Urartu (Armenia), Kasku, Tabalum, up to the land of Muski; who set his officers as governors over them and imposed tribute and taxes like (those imposed) upon the Assyrians; brave warrior, who met and brought about the defeat of Humbanigash, king of Elam, in the outskirts of Dêr, who carried off the Teseans, hewing his way through their territory; who plundered the people of Tu'muna who had deposed their chiefs and brought them before the king of Chaldea; who devastated the wide land of Bît-Humria, at Rapihu brought about the defeat of Egypt and had Hanûnu (Hanno), king of Gaza, brought in bonds to Assur; conqueror of the people of Tamud, Ibadidi, Marsîmani, Haiapâ, whose remnant was driven out and settled in the midst of Bît-Humria; the mighty in battle, who caught the Iamaneans (Ionians, Cyprians) out of the midst of the sea in shoals(?), like fish, and subdued Cilicia (Kue) and Tyre; powerful king, who cut through the palisade of the city of Shinuhtu, destroying its habitations, who burned Kiakki, their king with the torch; who carried off (the people) of Bît-Burutash, whose king, Ambarissi, had forgotten the favors shown him by Sargon and who had put his trust in the king of Urartu (Armenia) and the land of Muski (with their) powerful armies; who put to flight Mitâ (Midas), king of Muski, restored the captured fortresses of Cilicia and increased their (*v.*, its) domains; the warlike (leader), fearless in battle, who tore up the root of the land of Hamath, dyeing the skin of Ilu-bi'di, the wretched, red, like wool; despoiler of Carchemish of the wicked Hittites, whose strong arm captured Pisiris who was subject to

them and plotted evil; who devastated Urartu, plundered Musasir, in terror (great fear) of whom Ursâ, king of Urartu, ended his life with his own weapon; destroyer of the seats of the cities of Pâpa, Lalukni, Sukkia, Bâla, Abitikna (*v.*, Ebitikna), who plotted openly against the land of Kakmê; who cast down the lands of Andia and Zikirtu, slaughtering all of their warriors like lambs and bespattering all of his enemies with the venom of death; the mighty one, perfect in power and strength, who subjugated the insubmissive Medes, destroyed the people of Harhar, and enlarged the borders of Assyria; who gathered together the scattered Manneans, quieted the Ellipi who were in turmoil, who established (his) rule over the lands on every side and who made (himself) a great name; who trampled down the land of Kirhu, shaking(?) the mountains of the evil enemy, who drove the rebellious (seditious) Ittî of the land of Allabra out of his city; destroyer of Karalla, who decorated the hide of Assur-li'u, their governor, like a royal robe,[1] and laid the yoke of Assur upon Adâ of the land of Shurda.

119. The sagacious king, full of kindness (words of grace), who gave his thought to the restoration of (towns) that had fallen to ruins, to bringing fields under cultivation, to the planting of orchards, who set his mind on raising crops on steep (high) slopes whereon no vegetation had flourished since the days of old; whose heart moved him to set out plants in waste areas where a plow was unknown in (all the days) of former kings, to make (these regions) ring with (the sound) of jubilation, to cause the springs of the plain to gush forth, to open ditches, to cause the waters of abundance to rise high, north and south, like the waves of the sea. The king endowed with clear understanding, sharp (*lit.*, strong) of eye, in all matters the equal of the Master (Adapa), who waxed great in wisdom and insight and grew old in under-

[1] Translation doubtful. The parallel passage has Assur-li'u flayed.

standing:—(in my time) for the wide land of Assyria, the choicest food, to repletion and revival of spirit (*lit.*, heart), as was befitting my reign, their (the gods') rains made plentiful; (there were) the choicest things to save from want and hunger and (even) the beggar was not forced, through the spoiling of the wine, (to drink) what he did not want (what was not to his liking); there was no lack (*lit.*, cessation) of grain of the heart's desire,[1] that the oil of abundance which eases the muscles of men should not be too costly in my land, sesame was sold at the (same) price as (other) grain; that the feasts be richly provided with covers and vessels, befitting the table of god and king, the price of every article had its limit(s) fixed. Day and night I planned (how) to build that city. I ordered a sanctuary to be built therein for Shamash, the great judge of the gods, who made me attain unto victory. The town of Magganubba, which lay at the foot of Mount Musri, a mountain (standing) above the watercourses and cultivable area of Nineveh like a pillar, whose site none among the 350 ancient princes who lived before me, who exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of Enlil, had thought of (*lit.*, remembered), nor knew they how to make it habitable, whose canal none thought to dig,—(but I), in my all-embracing wisdom, which at the bidding of the god Ea (*lit.*, Shar-apsi, the king of the nether waters), lord of profundity, was made rich in understanding and filled with craftiness, and by the fertile planning of my brain, which thinking had been made to surpass that of the kings, my fathers, by Nin-men-anna, ("Lady of the Heavenly Disk"), mother (creatress) of the gods, planned day and night to settle that town, to raise aloft a noble shrine, a dwelling of the great gods, and palaces for my royal abode. I gave the order and I commanded that it be built.

120. In accordance with the name which the great gods

[1] Text and translation very doubtful.

have given me,—to maintain justice and right, to give guidance to those who are not strong, not to injure the weak,—the price (*lit.*, silver) of the fields of that town I paid back to their owners according to the record of the purchase documents, in silver and copper, and to avoid wrong (*or*, ill feeling), I gave to those who did not want to (take) silver for their fields, field for field, in locations over against (facing) the old. The "way" of its (the city's) building I lifted up(?) with fervor, opposite ———, to the gods Damku and Sharilâni, the judges of men, the full brothers, and that, in future days, entrance thereinto might be in joy of heart and gladness, I raised my hands in prayer, in the chamber of the "masterbuilder of the land," to Shaushka, the powerful goddess of Nineveh. The pious word of my mouth, which she made pleasing(?), was exceedingly pleasing to the great gods(?), my lords, and they commanded that the town be built and the canal dug. I trusted in their word which cannot be brought to naught, mustered my masses of (work)men and made (them) carry the basket and headpad(?). At the beginning of the month of the son of Dara-gal,[1] the god who renders decisions, who reveals snares, Nannar of heaven and earth, the strong one among the gods, Sin, whose name, by decree of Anu, Enlil and Ea, was called "Month of the Brick-God," (because of) the making of bricks, the building of cities and houses (undertaken therein), on the feast day of the son of Bêl, the exceedingly wise Nabû, recorder (scribe, of all things, leader of all of the gods, I had its bricks made; to the brick-god, lord of foundation (and) brickwork, and chief architect of Bêl, I offered sacrifices, I poured out libations, and raised my hand in prayer.

121. In the month of *Abu*, the month of the descent of the fire-god, destroyer of growing (cultivated) vegetation, when one lays (*lit.*, who lays) the foundation platform for city and

[1] *I.e., Simânu.*

house, I laid its foundation walls, I built its brickwork. Substantial shrines, built firm as the foundation of eternity, I constructed therein for Ea, Sin and Ningal, Adad, Shamash, Urta. Palaces of ivory, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, and pistachio-wood I built at their lofty command for my royal dwelling-place. A *bît-hilanni*, a copy of a Hittite (Syrian) palace, I erected in front of their doors. Beams of cedar and cypress I laid over them for roofs. 16,283 cubits, the numeral of my name, I made the circuit (*lit.*, measure) of its wall, establishing its foundation platform upon the bed rock of the high mountain. Front and back, and on both sides, I opened eight gates toward the eight[1] winds of heaven. *Shamash-mushakshid-irnittia* ("Shamash Makes My Might Prevail"), *Adad-mukîl-hegallishu* ("Adad Is the Bringer of Its Abundance"), I called the names of the gate of Shamash and the gate of Adad which face the east; *Bêl-mukîn-ishdialia* ("Bêl Establishes the Foundation of My City"), *Bêlit-mudishshat-hisbi* ("Bêlit Increases Plenty"), I designated as names for the gates of Bêl and Bêlit which face the north; *Anu-mushallim-ipshit-kâtia* ("Anu Prospers the Work of My Hands"), *Ishtar-mushammihat-nishêshu* ("Ishtar Enriches His People"), I gave as names to the gates of Anu and Ishtar which face the west; *Ea-mushtêshir-nakbishu* ("Ea Makes His Springs Flow Abundantly"), *Bêlit-ilâni-murappishat-talittishu* ("Bêlit-ilâni Spreads Abroad His Offspring"), I called the names of the gates of Ea and Bêlit-ilâni which face the south; *Ashur-mulabbir-palê-sharri-êpishishu-nâsir-ummânâtishu* ("Ashur Makes the Years of the King, Its Builder, Grow Old and Guards Its Troops") was (the name of) its wall, *Urta-mukîn-temen-adushshi-ana-labar-ûmê-rukûti* ("Urta Establishes Foundation Platform of the House for All Time to Come") was (the name of) its outer wall.

122. Peoples of the four regions of the world, of foreign

[1] Possibly a scribal error.

tongue and divergent speech, dwellers of mountain and lowland, all that were ruled by the light of the gods, the lord of all, I carried off at Assur, my lord's, command, by the might of my scepter. I unified them (made them of one mouth) and settled them therein. Assyrians, fully competent to teach them how to fear god and the king, I dispatched to them as scribes and sheriffs (superintendents). The gods who dwell in heaven and earth, and in that city, listened with favor to my word, and granted me the eternal boon of building that city and growing old in its midst.

123. Whoever destroys the work of my hands, injures my statue (*lit.*, features), brings to naught the law which I have established or blots out the (record) of my honors, may Assur, Shamash, Adad and the great gods who dwell therein, destroy his name and his seed from the land, may they set him in chains under (the heel) of his foe.

IX. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

124. The text of these inscriptions is published in Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, Plate 49.

I. ON AN ALTAR FROM KHORSABAD

Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad has presented to the god . . . . . this palace(?).

II. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE WALLS AND EDIFICES PICTURED IN THE RELIEFS

125. *a*) The city of Harhar,
b) the city of Kindâu,
c) the city of —ikrakka
d) the city of Kishesim,
e) the city of Ganguhtu,
f) the city of 'Amkaru [na],
g) the city of Bailgazara,

h) the city of Sinu,
i) . . . . . Assur-liu(?) of Karallu, I bound hand and foot with iron fetters.
k) Iau-bi'di of Hamath I flayed.
l) . . . . . a fortress of the Mannean land, the city of Kibi(?) of Zikirtu.
m) The city of Kisheshlu I besieged, I captured.
n) The camp of Sargon.
o) The city of Bît-Bagaia.

III. THE SO-CALLED "HAREM INSCRIPTIONS"

126. A. Urta, lord of power, from whom is his strength: to Sargon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, builder of thy abode, (grant) that he may attain to a (ripe) old age, let him have his fill of enjoyment, in E-sagsa(?) and Esharra make firm his dynasty, keep his steeds fit, his teams well preserved, grant him unrivaled might, manly strength, send forth his arms and let him smite his foes.

127. B. Nin-igi-kug, lord of wisdom, creator of the totality of all things: to Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, builder of thy abode, open thy fountains, let his springs send forth the waters of plenty and abundance, give water in abundance to his fields (*lit.*, drench his plain), quick understanding (*lit.*, wide ear) and an open mind decree for him, prosper his work, let him attain unto his (heart's) desire.

IV. BRICK INSCRIPTIONS

127*a*. 1. Sumerian inscription on bricks in the Louvre and British Museum:

Sargon, king of the universe, has built a city, Dur-Sharrukîn he named it. A palace without a rival he built therein.

128. 2. Inscriptions (in Assyrian) on bricks now in the Louvre and the British Museum:

Palace of Sargon, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

129. 3. Inscription on a brick, now in Paris:

Palace of Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, builder of Dûr-Sharrukîn.

130. 4. Inscription on bricks, now in Paris and London:

Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the temple of Sin and Shamash, his lords, which is in Dûr-Sharrukîn, from its foundation to its top, for his life, the stability of his dynasty, the success of the crops of Assyria, and the welfare of Assyria, has built.

131. 5. Inscription on brick now in London:

Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, has built a city, Dûr-Sharrukîn he has called its name. The abode of Sin and Shamash for my life and the stability of my dynasty I have built therein.

CHAPTER III

SARGON; INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASSUR, CALAH, AND NINEVEH

I. THE ASSUR CHARTER

132. In the text, K 1349, of the British Museum, published by Winckler, *Sammlung*, II, No. 1 (translated, in part, in his *Forschungen*, I, 403 f.), we have Sargon's account of his accession to power. Of course, it is vague, but enough is said to show that the Assur priesthood backed him against Shalmaneser. The text is the charter of the restored city of Assur.

133. [To Assur[1], the great lord, king of all the Igigi and Anunnaki, ... Assyrian . . . . . without whom the battle is not won (finished) . . . . . who does not change . . . . . , who does not destroy the sanctuary of the cult of(?) any honored god, before whom(?) heaven and earth feel themselves threatened and lands and sea tremble, king of kings(?) . . . . . is not cut off, the one going(?) at his side is not carried away(?), raging flood . . . . . who destroys all the unsubmissive, who is favorable to life, first and last(?), who is enraged at what is not ⌜proper] . . . . . the form he (it) has, putting his seal (on it) at the same time; the double-hour god (*Bêru*, *i.e.*, Sin), who in his royal shrine (dwelling) . . . . . which plunders all lands, stood; lord of lords, clothed with splendor, who overthrows the wicked, tramples down . . . . . who drives out(?) the enemy; the exalted(?) (lord), who has no mercy upon humankind, whose wrath is great and . . . . . who dwells in Eharsaggalkurkurra, the spacious structure, the model of dwellings, and the foremost (abode) of the lord of Assur, the city of his (feudal) protection, the abode of the

royal line (dynasty), the ancient home of the prince, his lord, Sargon, viceroy of Assyria, the rightful ruler (shepherd), honored of(?) Enlil and Marduk, thy servant, upon whom thou didst cast the glance of thy sure grace,—for the restoration of the temple structure, the complete (revival) of the cultus, (that I should be) the founder of cities among all the black-headed (race of men), thou didst also raise aloft my head; to rule Assyria, and to direct (it), thou didst give me power, over the four regions (of the world), thou didst "make bitter" my weapons.

134. In the second year of my reign, when I had seated myself upon the royal throne and had been [crowned] with the lordly tiara, I shattered the might of Humbanigash, king of Elam, and defeated Ilu-bi'di of Hamath, who had no claim to the throne, was not of royal birth, who, in ruling his people, was [violating the divine] decree, who was seeking to bring evil wickedness upon the god Assur, his land and his people, so that they (*i.e.*, the people) deserted. He gathered together (the people of) Arpad and Samerina (Samaria) and brought them to his side (aid). . . . . I smote, not a soul did I leave. I lifted my hands (in prayer) [to Assur] and for the conquest of the land of Hamath, the . . . . . of the wide land of Amurru, I besought him, and Assur . . . . . he heard my prayers. [My armies] . . . . . I caused to take [the road] to ⌜Amurru⌝. The land of Hamath . . . . . learning of its exits(?); the ⌜splendor⌝ [of my might] brought the [whole] land of Amurru in submission to my feet. [The spoil] to my city Assur I brought. And, because [they listened to] the word of ⌜my mouth] and came to my aid, Assur, the city (enjoying) the feudal protection of ancient ⌜dynasties⌝, the noble metropolis, which Assur, its lord, had extolled to the four quarters (of the earth), the ⌜bond⌝ [of empire] . . . . . without a rival, whose people from days of old knew neither feudal dues nor service,—[Shalmaneser],

who did not fear the king of the universe, raised (*lit.*, brought) his hand to (do) evil against that city, and [imposed upon] its people feudal dues and service, harshly, [and] counted (them) as his camp-followers, whereupon the lord of the gods, in the anger of his heart, overthrew his rule (dynasty). Me, Sargon, [as king he designated], my head he raised on high, scepter and throne he intrusted to me; that my power[1] might be established, my rule made secure, its (Assur's) freedom (from dues) I restored. . . . . .

135. Into the temple of Esharra I made my way, into his presence. . . . That . . . . . the freedom of those citizens I extended(?) . . . . . from the "call to arms" of the land, the summons of the taskmaster, from tax, toll, [and dues to] all the temples of Assyria, I freed them. [For] Assur, the [great] lord, ... I caused to be made, and a vase(?) of silver, ... fashioned(?) . . . . . upon it I wrote and I placed it before him. Whoever [removes] that work from [its place] . . . . . [in] rebellion and an (evil) fate. May Assur, the great lord be angry(?). . . . . .

II. THE NIMRÛD INSCRIPTION

136. On two slabs from Nimrûd (Calah) we have the account of Sargon's restoration of the palace built there by Assur-nâsir-pal about a century and a half earlier. The inscription is not dated, but seems to come from the early years of the reign. The text was published in Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plates 33–34, and Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, Plate 48.

137. Palace of Sargon, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, elect of Anu and Enlil, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), favorite of the great gods, rightful ruler (*lit.*, shepherd), whom Assur (and) Marduk have called, and whose name they have caused to attain unto the highest renown; mighty hero,

[1] Mace, sword(?).

clothed with terror, who sends forth his weapon to bring low the foe; brave warrior, since the day of whose (accession) to rulership, there has been no prince equal to him, who has been without conqueror or rival; who has brought under his sway all lands from the rising to the setting sun and has assumed the rulership of the subjects of Enlil; warlike(?) leader, to whom Nudimmud has granted the greatest might, whose hand has drawn a sword that cannot be withstood; exalted prince, who came face to face with Humbanigash, king of Elam, in the outskirts of Dêr and defeated him; subduer of the land of Iaudu (Judah), which lies far away; who carried off (the people) of Hamath, whose hands captured Ia'u-bidi, their king; who repulsed the people of Kakmê, wicked enemies; who set in order the disordered Mannean (tribes); who gladdened the heart of his land; who extended the border of Assyria; painstaking ruler; snare of the faithless; whose hand captured Pisiris, king of Hatti, and set his official over Carchemish, his capital; who carried off (the people of) Shinuhtu, belonging to Kiakki, king of Tabal, and brought (them) to Assur, his capital; who placed his yoke on the land of Muski; who conquered the Manneans, Karallu and Paddiri; who avenged his land; who overthrew the distant Medes as far as the rising sun.

138. At that time, the Juniper palace of Calah, which Assur-nâsir-pal, a prince who lived before me, had built aforetime,—the foundation of that house had not been made firm, its foundation walls had not been set on firm land, rock bottom (*lit.*, mountain structure), through rains and the downpours of heaven, it became dilapidated and old, its "footing" gave way, and its structure (*lit.*, joints) became weakened. I cleared (its) site, penetrated to its foundation. Upon great blocks of limestone I "poured out" its foundation-platform (*temen*), like the "outpouring" of a high mountain. From its foundation walls to its top I constructed, I completed it.

A "wind-door" I cut (opened) to the left of its gate for my enjoyment. The plunder of the cities, (acquired through) the success of my weapons which I hurled against the foe, I shut up therein and filled it to bursting with luxuries. Nergal, Adad and the gods who dwell in Calah, I invited into it; large oxen, fat lambs, (barnyard) fowl, geese (? *paspasu*), birds which fly across the heavens, I offered before them. I instituted a feast of music and made glad the soul (lives) of the people of Assyria. At that time I placed into that treasure-house 11 talents, 30 minas of gold, 2,100 talents, 24 minas of silver, out of the huge (amount of) plunder which my hand captured from Pisiris, king of Carchemish, of the land of Hatti, by the bank of the Euphrates.

III. THE LETTER TO ASSUR RECOUNTING THE EVENTS OF THE EIGHTH CAMPAIGN

139. One of the most interesting and important texts which has come to light recently is that on a tablet from Assur, now in the Louvre. It is a letter addressed by Sargon to "Assur, father of the gods," in which he recounts in detail the events of his eighth campaign. The text was published by Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la Hutième Campagne de Sargon.* The tablet as it reached the Louvre had a section broken away. This has been found at Assur by the German excavators, and the text thereon appears in *KAH*, II, No. 141.

It is dated in the eponymy of Ishtar-dûri, 714 B.C.

140. Assur, father of the gods, the great lord, who dwellest in Eharsaggalkurkurra, thy great temple, hail, all hail!

Ye gods of destiny, ye goddesses, who dwell in Eharsaggalkurkurra, your great temple, hail, all hail!

141. Ye gods of destiny, ye goddesses, who abide in the city of Assur, your great temple, hail, all hail!

To the city and its people, greeting! To the palace in its midst, greeting!

To Sargon, the holy priest, the servant, who fears thy great godhead, and to his camp, peace, abundant peace!

142. In the month of *Du'ûzu*, when commands are addressed to the peoples, the month of the mighty and foremost son of Enlil, of the most powerful of the gods, Urta, (the month) whereof the lord of wisdom, Ninigikug, had written in an ancient tablet,(that it was the time) to gather my army, to make ready my camp, I departed from Calah, my royal city and had a rough passage across the Upper Zab at its flood. The third day I made the solemn promise to Enlil and Ninlil, that the lips of the proud should be bridled, and the feet of the treacherous (wicked) hobbled. Whereupon I caused the armies of Shamash and Marduk to jump across the Lower Zab, whose crossing is difficult, as (if it had been) a ditch. Into the passes of Mount Kullar, a high mountain range of the land of the Lullumî,—which they (also) call the land of Zamua, I entered. In the Sumbi district I held a review of my army; I made a count of the horses and chariots. With the strong support of Assur, Shamash, Nabû and Marduk, for the third time I directed the line of march into the mountains. Against the lands of Zikirtu and Andia I guided the yoke (*i.e.*, the chariot) of Nergal and Adad, (whose) emblems go before me. Between Mount Nikippa and Mount Upâ, high mountains, covered with all kinds of trees, whose surface was a jungle, whose passes were frightful, over whose area shadows stretch as in a cedar forest, the traveler of whose paths never sees the light of the sun, I marched. The Bûia River, which (flows) between them, I crossed as many as twenty-six times, my army being unafraid of the high waters of its flood. Mount Simirria, a large mountain peak, which stands out like the blade of a lance, raising its head above the mountains where the goddess Bêlit-ilâni resides, whose summit reaches to the heavens above, whose root strikes downward into the midst of Arallu (the lower world); where, as on the back of a fish, there is no going side by side, and where the ascent is difficult (whether one goes) forward or

backward; on whose sides gorges and precipices yawn, to look at which with the eyes, inspires fear;—its road was too rough for chariots to mount, bad for horses, and too steep to march foot soldiers (over it). With the quick and keen understanding with which Ea and Bêlit-ilâni have endowed me,—(the same are the gods) who have freed my limbs (*i.e.*, given me strength) to cast down the enemy's land,—I had (my men) carry mighty bronze pickaxes in my equipment, and they shattered the side of the high mountain as (one does in breaking) blocks of building stone, making a good road. I kept at the head of my army and made my chariots, cavalry and infantry fly over that (peak) like fierce (brave) eagles. I had the laborers (camp-followers) and sappers follow behind them. The camels and baggage asses scrambled to the summit of the peak like wild goats, natives of the mountain-(side). I brought the dense masses of Assur's hosts up the steep ascent in safety, and set my camp in order on top of that mountain.

143. Sinahulzi and Biruatti,—mighty(?) mountains[1] whose vegetation consisted of sweet smelling *karshu* (cherry) and *sumlalu;* Turtani, Sinabir, Ahshûra and Sûia,—these seven mountains I crossed with much difficulty.

144. The Rappâ and Arattâ, streams flowing by their bases, I crossed at high water as (though they were) irrigation ditches. Against Surikash a district of the Mannean country, which borders on the lands of Karalla and Allabria, I descended. Ullusunu, the Mannean, (knowing) that I had not ceased planning to avenge him all these years, heard of my expedition's approach. He himself, together with his nobles, elders, counselors, the seed of his father's house (*i.e.*, his family), the prefects and sheriffs who governed his land, with joyous heart and smiling countenance, hurried forth from his land, without hostages, (traveling) from Izirtu, his

[1] *Possibly*, mountain stretches.

royal city, to Sinihinu, a border fortress of his land, he came before me. His tribute,—horses, broken to the yoke, together with their drivers, cattle and sheep, he brought before me, and kissed my feet.

145. To Latashê, a ⌜fortress⌝ which is on the river of the land of Lâruete, a district of Allabria, I drew near. The tribute of Bêl-apal-iddina, the Allabrian,—horses, cattle and sheep, I received.

146. Against Parsuash I went down. The governors of the lands of Namri, Sangibuti, Bît-Abdadani, and of the land of the powerful Medes, heard of the approach of my expedition, my devastation of their lands in a former year was still in their minds (*lit.*, ears), and terror fell upon them. Their heavy tribute they brought out of their lands and submitted to me in Parsuash.

147. From Taltâ of Ellipi, Uksatar, Durisi, Satareshu, chieftains of the river (country); Anzî of Halhubarra, Paiaukka of Kilambate, Uzî of Mâli, Uakirtu of Nappi, Makirtu of Bît-Sakbat, Kitakki of Uriangi, Mashdaiaukku of Kingaraku, Uzitar of Kantâu, Pâukka of Bît-Kabsi, Humbê of Bît-Zualzash, Uzumanda of Kisilaha, Burburazu of Bît-Ishtar, Bagbararna of Zakrute, Darî of Shaparda, Ushrâ of Kanzabakani, Sharruti of Karzinû, Mashdakku of Andirpatianu, Akkussu of Usi—, Birtatu of Siburâ, Zardukku of Harzianu, Mashdakku of Aradpati, Satarpanu of Barikanu, Karakku of Urikaia,—prancing horses, swift mules, (Bactrian) camels, native to their land, cattle and sheep, I received.

148. From Parsuash I departed, to Missi, a district of the Mannean country I drew near. Ullusunu, together with the people of his land, their hearts bent on rendering service, awaited my expedition in Sirdakku, his fortress. As though they had been officials of mine, governors of Assyria, he heaped up supplies of flour and wine for the feeding of my

army. He delivered to me his oldest son, together with a peace-offering, and, to make secure his (son's succession) to rulership, he provided (for this in) his stele inscription. Large draft horses, cattle and sheep, I received from him as tribute. That I might avenge him (on his foes) he prostrated himself before me. To bar the feet of the people of the land of Kakmî, wicked enemies, from his land, to turn back Ursâ by defeating him in open battle, and restore the scattered Manneans to their (former) place (of abode), to stand victoriously (*lit.*, in might) upon (the neck) of his foe, to attain every heart's desire,—he himself and his nobles, the rulers of his land, directed this prayer to me, crawling on all fours like dogs. I took pity on them and received their petition, I listened to their words of supplication, and spoke their pardon. Thanks to the surpassing might which Assur and Marduk granted unto me, causing my arms to rise supreme over all the princes of the wide world, I could promise them to overthrow Urartu (Armenia), to restore their boundaries, to pacify the distressed people of the Mannean land, and (their) mind (*lit.*, heart) was at rest.

149. Before Ullusunu, their king and lord, I spread a groaning (*lit.*, heavy) banquet table, and exalted his throne high above that of Iranzu, the father who begot him. Them (*i.e.*, the people of his land) I seated with the people of Assyria at a joyous banquet; before Assur and the gods of their land they did homage to my majesty. Zîzî of Appatar, Zalaia of Kitpatai, city governors of the land of Gizilbundu, a district which is located in a distant place among the far-off mountains, and is shut in alongside the land of the Manneans and the land of the Medes, as (with a) bolt,—the people who live in these cities trusted in their own strength, they recognized (*lit.*, knew) no government, none of the kings who went before me had ever seen their dwelling-place, heard their name or received their tribute. At the potent word of

Assur, my lord, who granted me, as a gift, the subjugation of the princes of the mountain (regions) and the receipt of their gifts, they heard of the approach of my expedition, the fear of my awe-inspiring splendor fell upon (*lit.*, covered) them, terror overcame them in their (own) land, and they sent me their tribute,—draft horses, without number, cattle and sheep from the cities Appatar and Kitpat. In the city of Zirdiakka of the land of the Manneans, they brought it before me, they begged me to spare their lives, and, that I should not destroy their walls, they kissed my feet. And I, for the safety of their land, set my agent over them, and turned them over (*lit.*, counted them) to the hand of my officials, the prefects of Parsuash.

150. From Zirdiakka, the fortress of the land of the Manneans, I departed. Thirty *bêru* ("double-hours") between the land of the Manneans, Bît-Kabsi and the land of the powerful Medes, I made my impetuous way. I drew near to Panzish, the strong fortress which lies over against the lands of Zikirtu and Andia, for protection,—that no fugitive might escape, no enemy enter (*lit.*, the foot of the enemy should be restrained), it was built over against these two districts. I strengthened the fortification of that stronghold, and stored up therein food, oil, wine and war equipment.

151. From Panzish I departed, crossed the river Ishtar-aurâ, and drew near to Aukanê, a district of Zikirtu. Metattati of Zikirtu, who had thrown off (Assur's) yoke, deserted Ullusunu, the king, their lord, neglected his service, and who had put his trust in Ursâ, the Armenian, who like him(self) was without judgment, an ally who could not save himself: he made the frightful ascent of Mount Uashdirikka, a steep mountain and saw the (on-) coming of my expedition from afar. His members (*lit.*, flesh) became paralyzed. He gathered together all the people of his land, took them up into

the distant mountains, with great difficulty, and they were seen no more. And in his eyes, not (even) Parda, his royal city, was precious. He abandoned the wealth of his palace and went forth in misery(?). His horses and his fighters he turned loose, sending (them) to the aid and help of Ursâ, his ally. His brave warriors who were stationed in the passes of Mount Uashdirikka, to guard (them), I slew and I captured Ishtaippa, Saktatush, Nanzu, Aukanê, Kâbani, Gurrusupa, Raksi, Gimdakrikka, Barunakka, Ubabara, Sitera, Tashtami, Tesammia,—twelve cities, strong and walled, together with 84 cities of their neighborhood,—all (of these). I destroyed their walls, I set fire to the houses inside them, I destroyed them like a flood, I battered them into heaps of ruins.

152. From Aukanê I departed, (to) Uishdish, a district of the Mannean land, which Ursâ had seized, I drew near. Before me Ursâ, the Armenian, who does not respect (*lit.*, guard) the word of Assur and Marduk, who does not fear the curse of the lord of lords,— a mountaineer, of murderous seed, who was without judgment, whose speech was evil, whose lips kept bawling indecencies, who had no respect for the honored name of Shamash, supreme judge of the gods, and who was forever, without let-up, overstepping his bounds: after (all) his earlier crimes (*lit.*, sins), he committed the grievous (*lit.*, great) offense of destroying this land and overwhelming its people. On Mount Uaush, a great mountain, which (lifts) its summit into the region of the clouds, in the midst of the heavens, where, since time's beginning, the seed of humankind had not passed, no . . . . had found (*lit.*, seen) his way, to the top of which no bird that wings its way across the heaven, had (ever) come, to . . . . . a mountain peak which stands up like the blade of a dagger, and gullies and mountain precipices . . . . . on(?) its . . . . . in the severe droughts(?) (of summer) and the bitter cold (of winter) destruction is let loose(?) . . . . . their

flash(es), on which snow is heaped up day and night, and its . . . . . are covered(?) with sleet and ice; the body of him who passes along its side is . . . . . while . . . . . burns his flesh; (here) he mustered his great host, together with his allies, and . . . . . assembled his (picked) fighters, strong in battle, the support of his host, he strengthened their courage, (on) their prancing riding horses he mounted them and gave them (their) weapons. Metatti of Zikirtu, who from days of old(?) had given him support, who had [invited to his aid[1] all of the kings of his neighborhood, of (these) mountains, and had received aid, [trusted] in the masses of his many troops and [their] support, and he induced them to desert (the Assyrian cause).[1] The glory (and) might of his battle . . . . . my power . . . . He (*lit.*, his heart) hoped to fight a decisive battle with me and planned, without ceasing, the destruction of the army of Enlil and Assur. In a defile of that mountain he drew up the battle line and sent (me) a messenger (telling) of (his) preparations for the approaching battle.

153. I, Sargon, king of the four regions (of the world), ruler (shepherd) of Assyria, guardian of the *samni* of Bêl-Marduk, who carefully observes the law of Shamash, of the stock (seed) of Assur, the city of learning, quick of wit, who waits reverently upon the word of the great gods, never violating their ordinances, the rightful king, whose words are gracious, whose aversion (abomination) is falsehood, from whose mouth (words) bringing (*lit.*, doing) evil and harm do not emanate; most wise prince of the regions (of the earth), who was created in wisdom and understanding, who sustains (*lit.*, holds in his hand) the worship (*lit.*, fear) of the gods and goddesses, to Assur, king of all the great gods, lord of the lands, creator of (prophetic) vision, king of the totality of the great gods, who consumes (*or*, *perhaps*, illumines) the

[1] *Lit.*, to take their desertion.

regions (of earth), the all-powerful lord of Assur, who in the fury of his great anger humbled the princes of the regions (of the world) and made the ignoble their equal(?); the honored, the valiant, from whose net the evildoer does not escape,—the root of him who does not fear his curse (*i.e.*, keep the oath) is torn up; who, for him who does not fear his name, trusting in his own might, despising the greatness of his divinity, and boasting (*lit.*, talking big), metes out, in his anger, swift punishment in battle, shattering his arms and scattering to the wind his forces and equipment (*lit.*, equipped forces); but the one who causes to walk at his side him who observes the law of the gods, who trusts in the gracious justice of Shamash, and fears the godhead of Assur and Enlil, who does not despise the weak, making him to stand in triumph (might) upon his foes and enemies: because I had never yet come near Ursâ, the Armenian, and the border of his wide land, nor poured out the blood of his warriors on the (battle)-field, I lifted my hands, praying that I might bring about his defeat in battle, turn his insolent words against himself, and make him bear his sin.

154. Assur, my lord, heard my words of righteous (indignation), they pleased him and he inclined to hear (*lit.*, turned toward) my just prayer. He granted my request. He sent at my side his terrible weapons, which in their going forth from the rising to the setting sun (east to west) despoil the rebellious; and the exhausted armies of Assur, who had come this long distance (*lit.*, road) and were tired and weary, who had crossed innumerable mighty mountains, whose ascent and descent were most difficult,—their appearance (mien) became changed. I could not relieve their fatigue, nor give them water to quench their thirst, nor pitch my tent, nor strengthen the wall of the camp; I could not send my warriors (ahead) nor gather together my equipment (or army), what was right and left could not be brought

(turned) to my side, I could not watch the rear. I was not afraid of his masses of troops, I despised his horses, I did not cast a glance at the multitude of his mail-clad(?) warriors. With my single chariot and the horse(men) who go at my side, who never leave (me) either in a hostile or friendly region, the troop, the command of Sin-ahi-usur, I plunged into his midst like a swift (*lit.*, frightful) javelin, I defeated him, I turned back his advance; I killed large numbers of his (troops), the bodies of his warriors I cut down like millet(?), filling the mountain valleys (with them). I made their blood run down the ravines and precipices like a river, dyeing plain, countryside and highlands red like a royal robe(?). His warriors, the mainstay of his army, bearers of bow and lance, I slaughtered about his feet like lambs, I cut off their heads. His noblemen, counselors who stand before him, I shattered their arms in the battle; them and their horses I captured. 260 of his royal kin (*lit.*, seed), (who were) his officers, governors and cavalry, I captured and broke down their resistance (*lit.*, battle). Him I shut up in his crowded camp and cut down (decimated) from under him his draft horses with arrow and javelin. To save his life he abandoned his chariot, mounted a mare and fled before his army.

155. Metatti of Zikirtu, together with the kings of his environment,—I cut down their army and broke up their organization. I defeated the armies of Urartu, the wicked enemy, and their allies, in the midst of Uaush Mountain he came to a stop. I filled the gullies and gorges with their horses while they, like ants in distress, made their way over most difficult trails. In the heat of my terrible weapons I went up after them, filling the ascents and descents with the corpses of (their) warriors. Over 6 *bêru* ("double-hours") of ground, from Mount Uaush to Mount Zimur, the jasper mountain, I pursued him at the point of the lance. The rest of the people, who had fled to save their lives, whom he had

abandoned that the might of Assur, my lord, might be magnified,—Adad, the violent, the powerful son of Anu, let loose his fierce tempest against them and, with bursting cloud and thunderbolt (*lit.*, stone of heaven), totally annihilated them. Ursâ, their prince, who had transgressed against Shamash and Marduk, and had not kept sacred the oath (sworn by) Assur, king of the gods, became alarmed at the roar of my mighty weapons, his heart palpitating (being torn) like (that of) an owl (*or*, bat; *lit.*, bird of the cave), fleeing before an eagle. Like a man whose blood is pouring from him, he left Turushpâ, his royal city; like (an animal) fleeing before the hunter, he trod the slope of his mountain; like a woman in travail he lay stretched on his bed, his mouth refusing food and drink (water); a fatal injury (*lit.*, disease without escape) he inflicted upon himself. I established the might of Assur, my lord, upon Urartu for all time to come, leaving there for future days his never-to-be-forgotten fear. The surpassing power of my might and the fury (*lit.*, onset) of my all-powerful weapons, which are without rival in the four regions (of the earth) and cannot be turned back, I let loose (*lit.*, made bitter) against Urartu in a bitter fight. The people of Zikirtu and Andia I bespattered with the venom of death. I barred the wicked feet of the enemy from the land of the Manneans and made glad the heart of Ullusunu, their lord. I let a light shine forth for his luckless (distressed) people.

156. I, Sargon, guardian of justice, who do not transgress against Assur and Shamash, the humble and unceasing worshiper of Nabû and Marduk,—through their unalterable decree (*lit.*, established consent) I attained unto my heart's desire; I stood victorious over haughty foes. Over all of his mountains, every one of them, I spread (*lit.*, poured out) terror; wailing and lamentation I laid on the enemy peoples. With joyful heart and jubilation, accompanied by players (on) the harp and tambourine, I entered my camp. To Ner-

gal, Adad and Ishtar, the lords of battle, to the gods who inhabit heaven and earth and to the gods who dwell in Assyria, I offered enormous (numbers) of pure sacrificial animals, I came before them with prostrations and prayers, I extolled their divinity.

157. I stopped my march on Andia and Zikirtu which lay before me, and set my face toward Urartu. Uishdish, a district of the Mannean country, which Ursâ had seized and taken for his own, with its many cities, which are countless as the stars of heaven, I captured in its entirety. Their powerful walls (fortifications) I smashed like pots, down to their lowest foundations, and I leveled them to the ground (*lit.*, counted them as ground). I broke into their countless orchards and let my army devour great quantities of food.

158. From Uishdish I departed, (and) I drew near to the city of Ushkaia, the great fortress on the outer frontier (*lit.*, head of boundary) of Urartu, which bars the pass into the Zaranda district like a door, keeping back my messengers, and stands out on Mount Mallau, the cypress mountain, like a boundary-(pillar), and (rising), robed in radiance, over the plain of the land of Sûbi. The people who live in that district are without equal in all of Urartu in their knowledge of riding-horses. For years they had been catching the young colts of (wild) horses, native to his wide land, and raising them for his royal army. But they are not caught as far over as Sûbi, a district which the people of Urartu call Mannean country, nor are their herds seen there. They do not saddle them (*lit.*, open a saddle over them), but (whether) going forward, turning to one side, or turning around, (as the tactics) of battle require, they are (never) seen to break the yoke (*i.e.*, to become separated from their team). These men, who belong to that fortress and district, saw the defeat of Ursâ, their lord, and their legs gave way like the root (of a tree planted) on the river bank. Their leaders, seasoned war-

riors (*lit.*, skilled in battle), who fled before my weapons, covered with the venom of death, drew near to them, and, telling them to submit to Assur, my lord, who had not allowed one out of all their warriors to make his escape, they became as dead (men). The city of Ushkaia, the mainstay of his land, together with the cities round about, they turned into ruins; they abandoned their possessions and took the road that has no turning. With the advance of my mighty arms, I went up into that fortress, carried off its overflowing wealth, and brought it into my camp. Its great wall, whose foundation platform was founded on the bed rock of the mountain, whose thickness measured 8 cubits,—I began with its upper wall, I went down to its high foundation walls, I destroyed it completely, I brought it to the ground. The dwellings within it I set on fire, and left their large timbers in flames. 115 cities of its neighborhood I burned like brush(?) and covered the face of heaven with their smoke, like a cyclone. As if destroyed by a flood, I made its fields, like heaps I made (*lit.*, poured out) their settlements. The city of Aniashtania, the home of his herds, situated on the border of Sangibute, between the cities of Ushkaia and Tarmakisa, together with 17 cities of its neighborhood, I destroyed, I leveled to the ground; the large timbers of their roofs I set on fire, their crops (and) their stubble I burned, their filled-up granaries I opened and let my army devour the unmeasured grain. Like swarming locusts I turned the beasts of my camps into its meadows, and they tore up the vegetation on which it (the city) depended, they devastated its plain.

159. From Ushkaia I departed, to the land of Baru, on which it depends for its beasts, which they also called Sangibutu, I drew near. Tarui and Tarmakisa, strong, walled cities, situated in the plain of the land of the Dalaia, where he had great supplies of grain, whose walls were very strong, whose outer walls were well built, whose moats were very

deep and completely surrounded them; in the midst of which are stabled the horses, reserved for his royal army, which they fatten each year;—the people who live in that district saw the deeds of my royal (valor) which I accomplished against the cities of their neighbors, and were terrified. They left their cities and fled into an arid region, a place of thirst, like the desert, and (so) sought to save their lives. That district I overpowered as with a net. Between their large cities I let the battle rage. Their ⌜mighty fortifications,—I began with their upper walls, and went down to⌝ their foundation platforms, destroying them and making them like the (level) ground. The houses in them ⌜I set on fire, and left their large timbers⌝ in flames. Their bounteous crops I burned up, [their filled-up granaries I opened⌝ and let my army devour the unmeasured grain. 30 cities of their neighborhood [I burned like brush(?) and made their smoke cover the face⌝ of heaven like a cyclone.

160. From Tarmakisa I departed (to . . . . . .) I drew near. The city of Ulhu, a stronghold at the ⌜foot of Mount Kishpal] . . . . . and their people like fish . . . . . they did not drink, they did not satisfy their hunger . . . . . Ursâ, their king and counselor, following [his heart's] desire . . . . . ⌜showed (them) where the waters gushed forth⌝. A ditch, carrying these flowing waters, he dug and . . . . . brought plenty, like the Euphrates. He made numberless channels lead off from its bed . . . . . and irrigated the orchard. Its waste land, which from days of old . . . . . and made fruit and grapes as abundant as the rain. Plane trees, exceedingly high(?), of the riches of his palace . . . . . like a forest, he made them cast their shadows over its plain, and in his uncultivated fields . . . . . like god, he made its people raise their glad songs. 300 *homers* of seed land, planted(?) in grain, he in (by) . . . . . the crop gave increased return of

grain at the gathering. The ground of his uncultivated areas he made like a meadow, flooding it abundantly in springtime, (and) grass and pasturage did not fail (cease), winter and summer; into stamping grounds (corrals) for horses and herds he turned it. The ⌜camels in(?)⌝ all of his submerged country he trained(?) and they pumped (*lit.*, poured) (the water into) ditches.

161. A palace, a royal dwelling, he built by the side of the river, for his enjoyment. With cypress beams he roofed it, and (thus) made the odor thereof pleasant. The city of Shardurihurda, a fortress, he . . . . in Mount Kishte for his defense. The protector(s)(?) of his land he settled therein. The people of that province heard of the evil which I had inflicted upon Ursâ; they cried, woe! and struck their thighs(?). Ulhu, their stronghold, as well as Shardurihurda, the fortress, they left hurriedly and fled by night to the steep flanks of the mountain. In the anger of my heart I ravaged the whole extent of the province like a storm. On front and flank I harassed it frightfully. Into Ulhu, the store city (*lit.*, city of properties) of Ursâ I entered triumphantly; to the palace, his royal abode, I marched victoriously. The mighty wall, which was made of stone from the lofty mountain, with iron axes and iron hoes I smashed like a pot and leveled it to the ground. Great cypress beams (from) the roof of his substantial palace, I tore out and carried to Assyria. Its filled-up granaries I opened and let my army devour its abundant grain, in measureless quantities. Its guarded(?) wine cellars I entered, and the widespreading hosts of Assur drew the good wine from (the skin) bottles like river water. The canal which protects it,—its flow(?) I blocked (dammed) and the waters . . . . . I turned into a morass. The ——— ——— ——— I ——— and the . . . . . of his . . . . . I exposed to the sun(light). Into his pleasant gardens, which adorned his city (*lit.*, the adornments of his city) (and) which

were overflowing with fruit and wine, like the immeasurable(?) downpour of heaven, my fierce warriors rushed, and like Adad (the storm-god), they made the noise of iron axes to resound (and) great quantities of his fruit, which could not be measured, came tumbling down. No quaking heart escaped from (that) fight, (their) eternal desire (they realized). His great trees, the adornment of his palace, I cut down like millet(?), and I destroyed the city of his glory, and his province I brought to shame. The trunks of all those trees which I had cut down I gathered together, heaped them in a pile and burned them with fire. Their abundant crops, which (in) garden and marsh(?) were immeasurable, I tore up by the root and did not leave an ear (by which) to remember the destruction. His pleasant fields, which were spread out (*lit.*, lay) like a platter painted lapis lazuli (blue),—the surrounding plain planted to grass and *habburu*, with the chariots and horses of my destructive(?) advance, like Adad I overwhelmed and made the meadows, the support of his horses, like plowland. Shardurihurda, their great stronghold, together with 57 cities of the neighborhood of the Sangibutu district, I destroyed them totally, leveled them to the ground (*lit.*, counted as ground). The beams of their roofs I set on fire and burned them up (*lit.*, made like flame).

162. From Ulhu I departed, against every (last) important stronghold of the province of Sangibutu I drew near. (This) province was the home of his temple, on which the kings of former (days) who lived (*lit.*, went) before him, had lavished (their wealth) from early days, to extend (the power of) their land.

163. The cities of Hurnuku, Hardania, Gizuarzu, Shashzissa, Upper Hundurna, ... Uadnaunza, Arazu, Shadishsinia, Lower Hundurna, El— . . . . —nak, Sittuarzu, Zirma, Surzî, Eliadinia, Dag— . . . . . Surzialdiu, Armuna, Kinashtania, 21 strong cities . . . . like (wild) grapevines,

growing on the mountain-(side), they stood out on the peaks of Mount Arzabia, mighty fortifications . . . . . 120 *tipku* (was the height) of the (brick) walls surrounding their sides, for [their] soldiers to stand on . . . . . were equipped(?), for battle they were made terrible (*lit.*, clothed in terror). Deep moats for the protection . . . . . at the entrances to their gates towers were constructed. Streams carrying floods of water . . . . . there was no end (of them) in their plains. Their people in plenty and abundance . . . . . of every kind, lavish (? quantities) were spread about. Great palaces, patterns of . . . . . were spread out, insignia of royalty. Cypress beams, whose odor is pleasant, ... of those who entered, like cedar (*hashurru*) it went to the heart. The people of the Sangibutu province, the inhabitants of the province and the inhabitants of all of those cities, [saw] the approach of my expedition, which at a distance of a *bêru* ("double-hour") . . . . . [how,] over all of Urartu, to its farthest border, confusion was spread. To . . . . the "lookouts" of their district, towers (pillars) were constructed on the summits of the mountains and set up to . . . . . the fire of brushwood by which they saw the approach (*lit.*, feet) of the enemy from a great distance, morning and night, and made it known [to] . . . . . Before the fierce onslaught of my attack, which they could not meet, they became frightened, and terror overcame them (was poured over them) and they became [as dead men]. They did not lift their eyes (*lit.*, face) to their many possessions, (but) left their mighty fortresses and trod the ⌜slope of their mountain]. As with a dense cloud of the night, I covered that province, and all of its great cities. I . . . . . like an attack of a swarm of locusts. Between Arzabia and Irtia, high mountains, I made a march over 12 *bêru* of ground and pitched [my camp].

164. My brave warriors cast themselves on the (moun-

tain)-sides, the refuge(?) of their hearts, like stray sheep and [would not] give attention to their orders. With the wide-spreading armies of Assyria I overwhelmed (*lit.*, covered) all of their cities, like locusts, and my plundering (army) . . . . . Property, goods, the treasure . . . . . they brought out and their heaped-up stores(?). . . . . The laborers, sappers, and ⌜bearers⌝ . . . . . I had mount their walls, with axe and . . . . . I tore down the pine beams of the roof of the palaces, and peoples of the lands of the ⌜Manneans and Nairî⌝ . . . . . Their high citadels, which were firmly founded, like the mountain, down to their foundation platform, I . . . . . like sand. I set on fire their beautiful residences, and made the smoke thereof rise and cover the face of heaven like a storm. The great heaps of barley and wheat which during many days they had heaped up (in their) granaries for the support of land and people, I had my whole army load on horses, mules, camels and asses, and heap up in the midst of my encampment like mounds. Food in plenty and to satiety, I let my people eat. Ample provision of supplies for the return march to Assyria they made in gladness. I cut down its splendid orchards, I cut down great quantities of its vines, I made an end of its drinking. The great forests, which were as dense as great reed (marshes),—their trees I cut down, and laid waste its plain. All of its cut-down tree trunks I gathered like the débris of a hurricane and set them on fire. 146 cities of their neighborhood I set aflame like brush and made their smoke cover the face of heaven like a hurricane.

165. From the strong cities of the land of Sangibute I departed, to the district of Armarilî I drew near. Bubuzi, the fortress, Hundur, which is surrounded by two walls, in front of (each) tower, *tubalu's* were constructed in the moat(?)—, Alê, Sinishpalâ, Siniunak, Arna, Sharnî, 7 strong cities, together with 30 cities of their neighborhood, which lie at the

foot of Mount Ubianda, I destroyed totally, and leveled to the ground. The beams of their roofs I set on fire and made like flame. Their overflowing (heaped-up) granaries I opened and let my army devour great quantities of their unmeasured barley. The harvest, the support of its people, and the chaff (stubble?), the "life" of its cattle, I burned like brush, and made its plain a barren waste. Their orchards I cut down and their forests I felled. All of their tree trunks I gathered into heaps and set on fire. On my march I came to Arbu, the city of the father's house of Ursâ, and Riar, the city of Ishtar-dûri. 7 cities of their neighborhood in which dwell his brothers, his royal seed, (with) strong defenses,—those cities I destroyed, I leveled to the ground. The temple of Haldia, his god, I set on fire like brush and destroyed his shrine (sanctuary).

166. From Armarialî I departed. Mount Uizuku, the pine mountain, whose core is breccia, I crossed; to the land of Aiadi I drew near. Anzalia, Kuaiain, Kallania, Bitâ, Aluarza, Kiuna, Allî, Arzugu, Shikkanu, Ardiunak, Daiazuna, Gêta, Bâniu, Birhiluza, Dêzizu, Dilizia, Abaindi, Duain, Hasrana, Parra, Aiasun, Aniashtania, Balduarza, Sharuardî, Shumattar, Shalzî, Albûri, Sikarra, the old Uaiais,—30 of its strong cities, which line the shore of the terrible sea, at the foot of great mountains, and all stand out like boundary stones: Argishtiuna, Kallania, its strong fortresses, erected among them, shining above Mount Arsidu and Mount Mahunnia, like stars,— their foundation walls were visible to a height of 240 cubits; his warriors, his picked troops, powerful in battle, bearing shield and lance, the defense of his land, were stationed therein; they saw the overthrow of Armarialî, their neighboring province, and their legs trembled. They abandoned their cities with their possessions and fled like birds into the midst of those fortresses. I sent up large numbers of troops against their cities and they carried off large

quantities of their property, their goods. Their strong walls, together with 87 cities of their neighborhood, I destroyed, I leveled to the ground. I set fire to the houses within them, and made the beams of their roofs like flame. Their heaped-up granaries I opened and let my army devour unmeasured quantities of barley. Their orchards I cut down, their forests I felled; all their tree trunks I gathered together and set them on fire.

167. From the land of Aiadi I departed, the rivers Alluria, Kallania and Innai I crossed. To the district of Uaiais, his mainstay, on the lower border of Urartu and on the Nairî-frontier, I drew near. Uaiais, his stronghold, his great fortress, which was stronger than any other (*lit.*, all) of his fortresses and whose workmanship was exceedingly skilfully carried out,—his powerful fighters, the spies who brought in the news of the lands round about, were settled therein; the district-governors, together with their retinues he brought up into it and kept (his) fighters safe behind its mighty wall. I took that fortress from the rear, its warriors I slaughtered in front of its gate like lambs. Its orchards I cut down, its forests I felled, all of its severed tree trunks I gathered together and set them on fire. Barzuriani, Ualtukuia, Kutta, Kippa, Asapâ, five mighty walled cities, together with 40 cities of their neighborhood, I set on fire.

168. From Uaiais I departed, to the district of Ianzû, king of the Nairî-land, I drew near. Ianzû, king of Nairî, came to meet me from Hubushkia, his royal city, a distance of 4 *bêru*, and kissed my feet. His tribute,—horses broken to the yoke, cattle and sheep, I received from him in Hubushkia, his city.

169. On my return march, Urzana of the city of Musasir, a worker of sin and iniquity, who broke (transgressed against) the oath by the gods and recognized no rule, a wicked mountaineer, who sinned against the oath taken by Assur, Sha-

mash, Nabû and Marduk and revolted against me, halted the return march of my expedition, (he failed to come bringing) his ample gifts, nor did he kiss my feet. He withheld his tribute, tax and gifts, and not once did he send his messenger to greet me. In the fury of my heart I made all of my chariots, many horses, all of my camp, take the road to Assyria.

170. Trusting in the strong support of Assur, father of the gods, lord of lands, king of the whole of heaven and earth, begetter (of all), lord of lords, to whom, from eternity, the Enlil (lord) of the gods, Marduk, has given the gods of land and mountain of the four quarters (of the world) to honor him—not one escaping—with their heaped-up stores(?), to bring (them) into Eharsaggalkurkurra;[1] at the exalted command of Nabû and Marduk, who had taken a course in a station of the stars (portending) the advance of my arms, and as a favorable sign for gaining power, the god Magur,[2] lord of the disk, came to rest at the "watch" (portending) the overthrow of Gutium; at the most precious nod of Shamash, the warrior, who wrote upon the entrails (of sacrificial animals) the favorable omens (which indicated) that he would go at my side,—with a single one of my (battle-)chariots and 1,000 fierce horsemen, bearers of bow, shield and lance, my brave warriors, trained for battle, I set out and took the road to Musasir, a difficult road and brought my army up Mount Arsiu, a mighty mountain, whose ascent, like the climbing of a peak(?), is without ascent. The Upper Zab, which the people of Nairî and Kirhi called the Elamunia, I crossed, among Sheiak, Ardikshi, Ulâiau and Alluriu, high mountains, lofty ridges, steep mountain peaks(?) which defy description, through which there is no trail for the passage of foot soldiers, among which mighty waterfalls tear their way, the noise of whose fall resounds for a *bêru*, like Adad (the thunder-god), which are covered, (thick) as reeds, with all kinds of

[1] The temple at Assur. [2] The moon.

trees,—the choicest fruit trees, and vines, and are full of terrors for (the one) attacking their passes; where no king had ever passed, whose trail no prince who went before me had ever seen; their great wild tree trunks I tore down and cut through their steep peaks(?) with bronze axes. A narrow road, a strait passage, where the foot soldiers passed sideways, I prepared ("made good") for the passage of my army between them. My (battle-)chariot came up with ropes, while I, with (several) mounts of horses, took the lead of my army. My warriors and (their) horses, who go at my side, narrowed down to single file and made their wearisome way.

171. That he should not escape I sent word to my officials, the governors and their retinues. In haste I dispatched it . . . . they(?) strengthened . . . . I pursued(?) and . . . . his royal abode, the abode of Haldia, his god . . . . . Urartu to its farthest border. What was for him(?) in heaven or on earth, no one knew . . . . . who before him had not borne scepter and crown, the insignia(?) . . . . . prince, shepherd, the people of Urartu . . . . . bring him (or to him), and one among his sons, as(?) heir (*lit.*, seizer) of his throne, together with(?) gold and silver, all kinds of precious treasure from his palace they brought in before the god Haldia, in the city of Musasir, and presented (as) his gifts. Heavy cattle, fat sheep, without number, they sacrificed before him. For the whole of his city they spread a banquet. Before Haldia, his god, they crowned him with the royal crown and gave him the kingly scepter of Urartu. Then his people . . . . . him . . . . . Over that city I made the loud noise of my army resound like Adad, and the inhabitants . . . . . his people, the old men and old women, went up on the roofs of their houses and wept bitterly. To save themselves they crawled on all fours (before me), [wringing] their hands.

172. Because Urzana, the king, their prince, had not been

afraid of the word (or name) of Assur, and had cast off the yoke of my sovereignty, and forgot to serve me, I decided to carry off the people of that city, and gave the order that the god Haldia, the protector of Urartu, should be led forth. As victor I caused him to sit before his (city) gate. His wife, his sons, his daughters, his people, the seed of his father's house, I carried off. To 6,110 people, 12 mules, 380 asses, 525 cattle, 1,235 sheep, I added (counted) them and brought them inside the wall of my encampment. Into Musasir, the dwelling place of Haldia, I entered in might; in the palace, the abode of Urzana, I took up my lordly abode. The treasure-(houses), overflowing with heaped-up stores,—I broke open the seals of their treasure. [34 talents, 18] minas, of gold, 167 talents, 2½ minas of silver, white bronze, lead, carnelian, lapis lazuli, *UD-ASH*-stone, precious stones in great quantities, staves of ivory, maple, and boxwood, together with their knobs(?) whose inlay was of gold and silver, large . . . . . of ivory, maple and boxwood, royal insignia, whose inlay was of gold and silver, 8 great *mahrisi* and baskets for vegetables, of ivory, maple and boxwood, whose inlay was of gold and silver, 6 vases, *ganganni*, *GAB-KAL*, chairs, drinking-cups of ivory, maple and boxwood, whose inlay was of gold and silver, 6 golden daggers, golden ———, golden poniards, flyflaps of gold, an alabaster *pursit*, set with stones of (and?) gold, 11 cups of silver belonging to Ursâ, together with their covers, cups of the land of Tabalu, with ears of gold, silver *gurpisi*, a silver javelin, incrusted with gold, 34 silver cups, dice, heavy, light, and small, *lutti* and *susani* of gold, 54 cups incrusted with silver, *siprate*, crescents and rings of silver, 5 *azanat* of silver, *kabuate*, *mukarrisi*, *nabli*, censers of the land of Tabalu, and silver incense-pans, 13 bronze basins, *taphani*, of bronze, wash-basins of bronze, *asallâte* of bronze, pots of bronze, pans of bronze, 24 bronze vases, bronze basins, *hurupâte* of bronze,

kurkuri of bronze, *kulli* of bronze, *nasri* of bronze, lamps(?) of bronze, 120 great and small bronze objects (*udî*), of the workmanship of the land, whose names are not easy to write.[1] X iron ovens, *nisibi* of iron, *nasri* of iron, *aruthi* of iron, lamps(?) of iron, 130 brightly colored (woolen) garments, purple linen garments, and wool for the scarlet garments of Urartu and Kirhi, together with the property of his palace, I carried off. I heaped up his goods.

173. My officials and officers I sent to the temple of Haldia and Haldia, his god, and Bagbartu, his goddess, together with the great wealth of his temple, all there was,—X+4 talents, 3 minas of gold, 162 talents, 20 minas, less 6/36, of silver, 3,600 talents of rough copper, 6 shields of gold which hung right and left in his house and shone brilliantly, with the heads of snarling dogs projecting from their centers (*lit.*, hearts), and containing 5 talents and 12 minas of shining red (gold); 1 . . . . . horns, ... the *ashtarti* of its doors, which had been cast from 2 talents of fine gold; 1 bolt of gold, a human finger (in form), the fastening of the door-leaf,—on top of it crouched a winged (*lit.*, flying) dragon, 1 peg of gold to secure the lock, to strengthen(?) the barring of the temple, to guard the heaped-up treasures and property, two keys of gold (shaped like) protecting goddesses wearing the tiara, and bearing mace(?) and ring, their feet planted upon snarling dogs, the four of them (constituting) the lock of the door; ornaments of the shrine, which weighed 2 talents and 12 minas of gold, and secured (*lit.*, held) the door-leaves; 1 great dagger of gold, the sword of his hand, which weighed 26 3/36 minas of gold; 96 lances of silver, *gurpisi* of silver, bows of silver, spears of silver, whose setting and inlay were of gold, 12 great shields of silver, whose edges (molding) were ornamented with heads of dragons, lions and

[1] An interesting touch. The difficulties the Assyrian scribe encountered when trying to render foreign proper names were many and were variously met.

wild-oxen; 67 basins of silver, vases of silver, silver ovens, silver vegetable baskets, whose inlay and setting was of gold, 62 silver *musarirte*, silver *lukilte*, miscellaneous (*lit.*, not distinguishable) objects of silver, whose setting and inlay was of gold; 33 chariots of silver, silver bows, silver quivers, silver maces(?), silver *manziâte(?)*, silver shields, silver *siprat*, *purdî* and standards of silver, 393 pans of silver, heavy and light, of Assyrian, Urartian and Kirhian workmanship, 2 horns of the great wild-ox (aurochs), whose inlay and *nikkasu* (were of gold?) and with(?) bands of gold completely surrounding their inlay; 1 seal ring of gold (used) for validating (*lit.*, completing) the decrees of Bagbartu, the spouse of Haldia, was completely covered (full) with precious stones; 9 vestments, the garments of his divine majesty, whose embroidery (edges) was of gold, and whose *iar* was of gold, whose *shiblu* were held by *murdû;* 7 *shusuda* of *nigsud*-wood, which were full of (covered with) stars, with a whip of silver, whose *kiblu* and inlay were of gold; 1 ivory couch, a bed of silver, for the repose of his divine majesty, covered with jewels and gold; 139 ivory staves, ivory tables, ivory vegetable baskets, ivory daggers, poniards of ivory and maple(?)-wood, whose inlay was of gold; 10 boxwood tables, *mahrisi* of boxwood, house chairs(?) of maple and boxwood, whose inlay was of gold and silver; 2 altars, 14 precious(?) stones; the ornaments of (their) divine majesties, the jewels of Haldia and Bagbartu, his spouse; 25,212 bronze shields, great and small, *siprat* of bronze, *gurpisi* of bronze, and *gulgullat* of bronze; 1,514 lances of bronze, great and small, large lance blades of bronze, *purdî* of bronze, *kutahi* of bronze together with their bronze bases; 305,412 daggers of bronze, heavy and light, bows of bronze, *azanâte* of bronze, and spears of bronze; 607 basins of bronze, heavy and light, washbasins of bronze, *asallâte* of bronze, jars of bronze, pans of bronze; 3 large basins of bronze which held inside them 50 measures of

water, together with their great covers of bronze; 1 great vat of bronze, which held inside it 80 measures of water, together with its large cover of bronze,—belonging to the kings of Urartu, (used) for offering sacrifices before Haldia, (and) which were full of sacrificial wine; 4 statues of bronze, the colossi which guard his gates, whose four bases, as well as their shrines, were of cast bronze; 1 statue of supplication, representing the royal highness of Ishtar-dûri, son of Ishpueni, king of Urartu, whose shrine was cast of copper; 1 bull, 1 cow, together with its calf, on which Ishtar-dûri, son of Ishpueni, turned and poured out for ———, the bronze of the temple of Haldia; 1 statue of Argishti, king of Urartu, who wore the ——— diadem of a god, and whose right hand was held in the attitude of blessing, together with its shrine, weighing 60 talents of bronze; 1 statue of Ursâ, with 2 of his horsemen, (and) his charioteer, with their shrine, cast in bronze, —on which was engraved his own haughty (inscription), "With my two horses and one charioteer, my hand attained to the kingdom of Urartu"; (these things) together with his great wealth, which was without calculation, I carried off.

174. This does not include the objects of gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, ivory, maple, boxwood, and all (other) kinds of wood, which the people of Assur and Marduk had carried off from city, palace and temple in countless quantities.

175. The property of the palace of Urzana and (the god) Haldia, together with their enormous wealth, which I carried off from the city of Musasir, I laid on (the backs) of my widespreading armies, in their immensity, and had them carry it into Assyria. The people of the province of Musasir I reckoned with the people of Assyria; tax and taskwork I imposed upon them as upon Assyrians. Ursâ heard and sank down to the ground, he rent his garments and bared (*lit.*, freed) his limbs, he pulled off his headband, tore his hair, beat upon his breast (heart) with his two hands, threw him-

self on his back; his heart stood still, his body (liver) burned, in his mouth were cries of pain. Over Urartu, to its farthest border, I spread mourning, and cast eternal weeping over Nairî.

176. In the exalted might of Assur, my lord, in the power and strength of Bêl and Nabû, my helpers, at the firm nod of Shamash, the great judge of the gods, who opened the way and spread his protecting shadow over my army, in the greatness of Nergal, the all-powerful among the gods, who goes at my side, guarding my camp, from the district of Sumbi I went in between Nikippa and Upâ, steep mountains. Toward Urartu, Zikirtu (and) the Mannean land, Nairî and Musasir, I marched victoriously, like a mad dog, spreading terror, and I met no conqueror. The great armies of Ursâ of Urartu and Metatti of Zikirtu, I defeated in open battle. 430 cities of 7 provinces, of Ursâ, the Urartian, I totally conquered, and devastated his land. Of Urzana, of Musasir,—Haldia, his god, Bagbartu, his goddess, together with the great wealth of his temple, and 6,110 people, 12 mules, 380 asses, 525 cattle, 1,285 sheep, his wife, his sons, his daughters, I carried off. I went out through the pass of Mount Andarutta, a steep mountain, toward the city of Hipparna, and returned in safety to my land.

177. 1 charioteer, 2 cavalrymen, 3 sappers, were killed:—(these) heroes (*lit.*, men of highest words), Tâb-shar-Assur, the great *abarakku*(-official), conducted before Assur, my lord.[1]

178. Tablet of Nabû-shallim-shunu, the chief scribe of the king, the chief of the learned, the vizier of Sargon, king of Assyria, first-born of Harmakki, Assyrian scribe of the king.

In the eponymy of Ishtar-dûri, governor of Arrapha, ⌈it was brought⌉.

[1] The same enumeration of the dead is found at the end of a "letter" of Esarhaddon, §§ 592 f. These letters to the god are to be regarded as part of a ceremony in commemoration of those who died in battle. The "1 charioteer, 2 cavalrymen, and 3 sappers" are the "unknown" heroes.

CHAPTER IV

SARGON; INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASSUR, CALAH, AND NINEVEH—*Continued*

IV. THE CYPRUS STELE

179. The Cyprus (or Larnaka) stele of Sargon, known to scholars since 1845, now in the Berlin Museum, dates from the Khorsabad period of the reign, about 707 B.C. The text has been republished in *VS*, I, No. 71.

180. (*Front*) Assur, the great lord, [king] of the Igigi and Anunna⟨ki⟩, creator (begetter) of all (things), [father of the gods], lord of lands; Sin, [shining Nannaru of(?)] heaven and earth, [who destroys] the evil (designs) of the foe, who issues ⌜the decrees⌝ (governing) heaven and earth, ⌜who destroys the foe(?)⌝; Shamash, ⌜lord of righteousness(?)⌝ . . . . . [who brings to naught] the evil (designs) of the wicked and the . . . . . of the enemy, who shatters the . . . . . of the wicked(?); Adad, master [of the gods], valiant ⌜leader⌝, who overwhelms the regions of . . . . . who carries off the ⌜lowlands⌝; Marduk, the [great] lord, ... who provides for all peoples, ... who gives . . . . . (as a gift); Nabû, true son of ⌜Ekur(?)⌝ . . . . . high ⌜mountain⌝ . . . . . who ⌜carries off⌝ the insubmissive, ... who tears up by the root the wicked, ... Ishtar, [queen] of battle, ... who brings low the wicked, Sibi (the Seven), ... of the gods(?), who, in the place of combat, stand by the side of the king, their favorite and . . . . . : the great gods, who rule heaven and earth, whose onset is battle and combat, who have recognized (*lit.*, raised the eye), who have called by name, the king who, at their holy command, has

added land to land and whom they have made great [above] (all) princes.

181. (*Right Side*) Sargon, the great king, [the mighty king], king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of [Babylon], king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the [four] regions (of the earth), favorite of the great gods, who [go before me]; Assur, Nabû and [Marduk] have intrusted to me an unrivaled kingdom and have caused my gracious name to attain unto highest renown.

182. I undertook the (re)habilitation of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon and Borsippa, I made good the losses of client people, all there were, and remitted the taskwork of Dêr, Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kullab, Kisik, and Nimid-Laguda, I quieted their people. The freedom (from taxes) of Assur and Harran, which from distant days had been overlooked (forgotten) and their clientship, which had ceased, I restored.

183. (Trusting) in the support of the great gods, I went to and fro, the peoples from the upper Bitter Sea to the lower Bitter Sea I brought under one rule, and from Egypt to [Muski] I brought them in submission to my feet. I smashed the forces of Humbanigash, the Elamite; I destroyed Karalla and [Shurda], the cities of Kishesim and [Harhar], the lands of the Medes and Ellipi,—not (one) of [their] seed escaped; the people of Hatti, whom my hands had captured, I settled therein, my official I set as governor over them and made them bear (draw) the yoke of Assur. I subjugated the Mannean land, Andia and Zikirtu. Urzana of Musasir, together with his [family], the god Haldia and Bagbartu, [his goddess], I counted as spoil and the land of Urartu, to its farthest border, raised the knife (*i.e.*, gashed themselves) [and rent their garments, the people] dwelling therein into ˹slavery(?) I brought,˺ mourning and [lamentation I laid upon them] . . . . . of Ursâ, (king) of Urartu, on(?) Mount Uaush, a

steep mountain, I . . . . . My fierce battle he feared and with his own hand ended his life with his iron girdle dagger. The land of Hamath to its farthest border I destroyed like a flood. Iau-bi'di, their king, together with his family, his warriors, as captives of his land, I carried away to Assyria, in bonds. 300 chariots, 600 cavalry, bearers of shield and lance, I selected from among them and added them to my royal host. 6,300 Assyrians, possessed of . . . . . I settled in the land of Hamath and my official as governor I set over them. Tribute and tax I laid upon them.

184. (*Left Side*) [Into Babylon], the city of the lord of the gods, [joyfully] I entered, ⌜in joy⌝ of heart, and with a beaming countenance. I grasped the [hand(s) of the great lord] Marduk, and made the pilgrimage (*lit.*, ⌜completed⌝ the march) to the "House of the New Year's Feast." [154 talents], 26 minas, 10 shekels of [ruddy(?)] gold, 1,804 talents, 20 minas, [of bright silver], bronze (and) iron—there was no counting them—*KA*-stones, lapis lazuli, *UD-ASH*-stones, *muhhu-digili*-stones, *UD-ASH*-stones, *mush-garru*-stones, in heaps; [violet] and purple (goods), brightly colored (woolen) garments and garments of linen; [boxwood], cedar, cypress, [all kinds] of shrubs (evergreens), the product of Mount Amanus, whose odor is pleasant, I gave as gifts [to] Bêl and Sarpanit, Nabû and ⌜Tashmet⌝, and the gods who dwell in the [metropolises] of Sumer and Akkad,—from the year of my accession to my third year (of reign).[1]

185. [Upêri], king of Dilmun, who lives (*lit.*, whose camp is situated) ⌜like a fish⌝ 30 *bêru* ("double-hours") away ⌜in the midst⌝ of the sea of the rising sun, heard of [the might] of Assur, Nabû (and) Marduk and sent his gifts.

186. [And seven kings] of Ia', a district of Iatnana (Cyprus), whose distant abodes are situated a seven days'

[1] *I.e.*, the third year as king of Babylon, which was the fifteenth as king of Assyria.

journey ⌜in⌝ the sea of the setting sun, and the name of whose land, ⌜since⌝ the far-off days of the moon-god's time (era), not one of the kings, my fathers, who lived before my day, had heard, (these kings) heard from afar, in the midst of the sea, of ⌜the deeds⌝ which I was performing in Chaldea and the Hittite-land, their hearts were rent, [fear fell⌝ upon them, gold, silver, [furniture] of maple(?) and boxwood, of the workmanship of their land, they brought before me ⌜in Babylon⌝, and they kissed my feet.

187. [At that time⌝ I had a stele fashioned and [the symbols] of the great gods, my lords I [engraved] thereon. My royal image I . . . . . and for my life I set it up before them (*i.e.*, the gods).

188. [The people] whom from the rising sun to the setting sun, with the aid of Assur, [Nabû] and Marduk, the gods, my helpers, I had subjugated [to the yoke] of my rule, I inscribed thereon. . . . . at the base(?) of a mountain ravine, ... of (I)atnan (Cyprus) I set it up. [(The record) of how with the help] of the great gods, my lords, [and following their sure command⌝, I marched to and fro, having no rival, I left [for the kings⌝, my sons, for all time.

189. [In days to come⌝, may (some) future prince look upon my memorial stele, may he read it, the name of the great gods may he honor, my stele let him anoint with oil, pour out libations, let him not change its location. ⌜Whoever destroys⌝ my stele, [blots out my⌝ name and inscription, may all [the great gods], whose names are named upon [this] stele, and the gods ⌜who dwell⌝ in the midst of the great sea, curse him with an evil curse, his name and his seed may they destroy [in the land]. May they have no mercy upon him. In hunger and want, ... the outbreak of the plague, [may they destroy] his people. [Before] his foe may they set him in bonds, [before] his eyes may they make an end of his land.

V. THE PRISM INSCRIPTIONS FROM NINEVEH

190. In the British Museum are preserved the fragments of a number of Sargon prisms, written, so it would seem from internal evidence, before the removal to Khorsabad. The text of Prism A, though fragmentary, can be arranged consecutively since the fragments actually join. The same is not the case with so-called "Prism B." Indeed, it is not certain that all the fragments which have been assigned to this prism are parts of one prism, or even of duplicates. The arrangement of the fragments is that suggested by Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon*, pp. 11 f. The text is published in Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, Plates 44–46.

1. PRISM A

191. (B)[1] . . . . . the cities(?) . . . . . him and the people of the city of Bu(?)— . . . . . the city of A— . . . . , in the city of . . . . . the strong cities(?) of the land of Haldinische, ... like rebels, he overwhelmed them. Their bright [blood] I ⌜caused to flow⌝ (down) the gullies and mountain precipices. The rest of them, who before my arms ⌜had fled,⌝ took to the mountain, from out of [the mountain] I brought them down and ⌜counted as booty.⌝ [From] Taltâ, their ruler [I received] an ⌜offering.⌝

The land of Ellipi to its farthest border ⌜I caused to inhabit⌝ peaceful habitations.

192. [From] Parnua of the city of Sikrisu, Sitirna of the city of —sanâ(?), Uppammâ of the city of ———na, Mashdaku of the city of Amakki, Ishtesuku of the city of Ishteubbu, Uarzan of the land of Ukutti, Ashpanra of the land of Kakkam, Satareshu (and) ⌜Sibrasu⌝, city chieftains of the lands of Bît-Bâri (and) Bît-Mashbari, large provinces, Satarpanu of the land of ⌜Uppuria,⌝ ⌜Parkuku⌝ of the land of Andirpattianu, Aria of the land of ⌜Bushtutu(?)⌝, Ushrâ of the land of ⌜Kanzabkanu⌝, Mashduku(?) of the land of Ameista(?), Hardukka of Harzianu, Ishteliku (and) Auarisarnu, city

[1] The letters indicate the fragments as labeled by Winckler.

chieftains of the land of —itanu, Arbaku of the land of Arnasia, ⌜Sharruti⌝ of the land of Karzinû,—[Satarpanu⌝ of the land of Barikânu, ... [of the land⌝ of Zazaknu, ... [of the land of⌝ Karkasia, ... —artakanu, ... high . . . . . —s, ... who (were) bearer(s) of —s, ... [I received⌝ and . . . . . .

193. (D) Because [of the evil they had done, I deposed him (Azuru) from the rulership], Ahimilki . . . . . , his full brother, [I set up as king] over [them], I made (him) great and I made . . . . . Tribute and tax . . . . . like that of the kings of . . . . . upon him I imposed.

194. The wicked [Hittites], in . . . . . not to pay tribute . . . . . their prince, revolt(?) . . . . . much . . . . . they caused him to go out . . . . . Iamani, the soldiers(?) . . . . . as king, over them, [on the throne] of their lord, they caused to sit. Their city [I plundered(?)] . . . . . of

(*Only a few signs of next three lines left.*)

195. . . . . of its neighborhood, a moat . . . . . 20 cubits down they reached the nether waters. To the ⌜kings⌝ of the lands of Piliste (Philistia), Iaudi (Judah), ⌜Edom⌝, Moab, who dwell by the sea, payers of tribute [and] tax to Assur, my lord, (they sent) numberless inflammatory and disdainful (messages) to set them at enmity with me, to Pir'u, king of Egypt, a prince who could not save them, they sent their presents (bribes) and attempted to gain him as an ally. (Whereupon) I, Sargon, the rightful ruler, who fears the curse of Shamash and Marduk, who observes the command of Assur, [crossed] the Tigris and Euphrates, at the high(est) flood, the high water of the spring of the year, ⌜in boats, and] made my way on the dry land. And that Iamani, their king, who had trusted in his own strength and had not ⌜submitted⌝ to my rule, heard of the progress of my march ⌜from afar⌝, and

the terror of [Assur, my lord], overwhelmed him and . . . . . of the bank of the river, ... in the depth of the waters, ... distant . . . . . fled . . . . . ⌜Ash-dod⌝ . . . . . I took [the road].

196. (E) The city of . . . . . against . . . . . in the midst . . . . . as . . . . . the city of Luhi— (*or*, Lu'—) . . . . . the city of . . . . . against (over) the land of . . . . . the city of . . . . . the land of ⌜Egypt⌝ . . . . . his (their) stones . . . . . over the people . . . . . that . . . . . not(?)

in . . . . . in . . . . . .

2. PRISM B

197. 1. (K 1672) (*Col. I*). . . . . against(?) the land of ⌜Tabali⌝ . . . . . my officials [as governors I set up over them]. The city of Samalla . . . . in the city of ⌜Hamath⌝, Damascus, ... together with my cavalry . . . . . in the midst of the land of Hamath I ⌜set up⌝. . . . . like the star of heaven(?) . . . . . .

198. (*Col. II*) The land of . . . . . like . . . . . gift(?) . . . . . the roar of my weapons, they feared . . . . . they went forth . . . . . royal city . . . . . among the kings . . . . . .

199. 2. (79–7–8, 14) (*Col. I*) . . . . . I counted ⌜him (them?)⌝ . . . . . ⌜Egypt⌝ . . . . . fear of the brilliance of [Assur, my lord], overwhelmed him and [he fled to the border] of Egypt . . . . . .

. . . . (of) the land of Urartu . . . . . of ⌜Sin⌝, Shamash . . . . . former [campaign(?), in which] . . . . . Mannean . . . . . I had subjugated him and . . . . . ⌜tongue(?)⌝ . . . . . the land of Urartu . . . . . together with ⌜the payment⌝ . . . . . .

200. (*Col. II*) . . . . . from(?) . . . . . of (which)

. . . . . great stone(?) . . . . . 20,000+5,000, ... *kalla*— . . . . . and *kul*— . . . . . great(?) . . . . . .

201. 3. (S 2021) (*Col. I*) . . . . . of Urartu . . . . . Ursâ of Urartu . . . . . the mighty mountain . . . . . .

202. (*Col. II*) . . . . . *karibe* together with . . . . . 2(?) . . . . . together with 2 . . . . . his [gods] together with their shrines of (?)bronze . . . . . a heavy tribute, I carried off to [Assyria].

In my fifth year of reign, in the course of my campaign . . . . . Assur-li, king of the land of Karalla, ⌜together with⌝ [Ittî of Allabra] . . . . . not(?) submissive (*pl.*), Assur . . . . . .

203. 4. (K 1669) . . . . . his property, his goods, [in countless quantity] . . . . . horses, mules . . . . . the treasure of his palace, from [(some city) I carried off] and that city [I built] anew, Kar-Urta (*MASH-MASH*) I called its name . . . . . [temples for] Sin, Shamash, Adad and . . . . I had built and ⌜settled them] therein . . . . . favor of my hand therein I . . . . . of Assyria I counted him and . . . . . of(?) . . . . . —madaba to the city of Arma— . . . . . and the province of the city of ⌜Kishesi⌝ . . . . . my official as . . . . . my royal image ⌜I fashioned⌝ . . . . . Assur, my lord, which, in the midst . . . . . ⌜Medes⌝ I had accomplished . . . . . [I wrote thereon] and in the temple of the god . . . . . that . . . . . I ⌜set it up].

204. [The gods(?)] of the city of ⌜Kimirra⌝ . . . . . the land of Bît- . . . . . Bît-⌜Zualzash⌝ . . . . . horses, mules . . . . . .

205. . . . . . fifth campaign(?) . . . . . before me(?) . . . . . to (against) . . . . . without . . . . . horses . . . . . its reoccupation . . . . . its wall anew [I built.] . . . . . .

206. 5. (K 8536) . . . . . him and into the midst of the land of . . . . . the land of . . . . . the land of Kue and . . . . . his . . . . against (to) Ur— . . . . .

207. 6. (K 1671+K 1668) (D) . . . . . he feared and to save his [life] he crossed the mountain. To . . . . . he sent an untrue word which [should set him at enmity] with [me.] . . . . . .

208. The fear of my splendor [overwhelmed him and] himself, together with his troops, in . . . . . one, from among them, to . . . . . Sukâshari and . . . . . sons, the offspring of his loins, alive . . . . . with . . . . . Ami— . . . horses . . . . . (E) like the gift . . . . . in order to . . . . . (*Next three lines doubtful.*) . . . . . [with rings] of gold I encircled his fingers, ... and the carrying of the headpad (basket), I imposed upon him. Under the hand of [my official], the governor of the land of the Lulumê, I placed (*lit.*, counted) [him] . . . . . to its farthest border . . . . . fixed dues for Assur, for all eternity, [I established].

209. At that time in the land of Kirhi, the lands of Karallu and Namri in . . . . . the gullies of the mountain, I . . . . . The evil deeds which in Karallu I had done, they heard, and their messengers, (with offers) of doing service, they sent to me. Into the hand of my official, the governor of the land of Lulumê, I counted ⌜them and] the yoke of Assur I laid upon him. At the command of Assur, my lord, who from the (first) days of my rule . . . . . like deer and mountain goats(?) I caused them to take them . . . . . distant . . . . . of the seashore . . . . . of the setting sun.

210. (F) . . . . . before him(?) . . . . . .

At the word of Assur, my lord, ... who has made great my name, 7 *bêru* of ground (*i.e.*, a distance of 7 *bêru*) from the city of Izirtu, his royal city, he rushed forth in great haste and in the land of Lâruete of the land of Allabria, he

came before me and his heavy tribute,—horses, cattle and sheep I received, and he kissed my feet.

211. (With) a girdle dagger (and) brightly colored (woolen) and linen garments I clothed him. With inlaid rings, whose(?) inlay was . . . . . I bound [his fingers(?)], with a joyful countenance he returned to his land.

212. Before me Taltâ of the land of Ellipi, a submissive servant, one who bore the yoke of Assur, my lord, a payer of tribute and tax to the kings, my fathers, who went before,—the anger of the great gods was upon him for ruining his land and diminishing [his] people, and the people were in an uproar, they planned evil. The whole of his land, with one accord, opposed him and deserted him. And that Taltâ, the king, their ruler, was afraid of their opposition . . . . . and being in distress . . . . .

213. (A) . . . . . my foot soldiers, [the bowmen (archers), (carriers) of shields and lance], ⌜my warriors⌝, [valiant and skilled in warfare, I put in order], the road [to Musasir, a difficult road, with but one] of my battle chariots [and 1,000 of my fierce cavalry (rough-riders)] I took and, [where the terrain was good, on my riding-]horse, [where it was bad, on foot], I advanced. [Into Musasir, the abode of the god Haldia], I entered victoriously. [In the palace, the dwelling of Urzana], I took up my lordly abode, [. . . . . the seals(?) of their treasure] I broke open and [34 talents, 18 minas] of gold, [167 talents, 2½ minas] of silver, [white bronze, lead, carnelian and lapis] lazuli, [*UD-ASH*-stone, precious stones] in large quantities . . . . . of maple and boxwood . . . . . [. . x] staves of ivory, [maple and boxwood together⌝ with their knobs(?), [whose inlay was of copper and silver, large . . . . . of ivory, [maple and boxwood], royal insignia, [8 great *mahrisi*⌝ [of ivory and boxwood⌝, vases, *ganganni* . . . . . drinking cups [of ivory, maple⌝ and boxwood, [whose inlay] was of copper and

silver; [x daggers] of gold, golden *terunat*, [golden poniards], flyflaps of gold, [a *pursit* of alabaster[1], set with stones of gold, [11 cups of silver], belonging to Ursâ together with their covers, [cups of the land of Tabal[1], with ears of gold, [silver *gurpisi*], a silver javelin, incrusted with gold, [34 silver cups[1], dice, heavy, [light], and small(?), *lutti* [and *susani*] of silver, 55 cups incrusted with silver, ... bowls, [*siprate*, crescents] and rings of silver, [5 *azanat* of silver], *kabuate* of silver, [*mukarrisu*], *nabli*, censers, [of the land of Tabal, and silver incense-pans], [13 large basins, *taphani* of bronze], washbasins of bronze, [*asallate* of bronze, pots] of bronze, [pans of bronze, 24 bronze vases], bronze basins, [*hurupate* of bronze, *kurkuri* of bronze], *kulli* of bronze, [*nasri* of bronze, lamps(?)[1] of bronze, [120 great] and small [*udê*, of the workmanship of the land], whose names are [not easy] to write; [x] iron [ovens], *nisibi* of iron, [*nasri* of iron, *aruthi* of iron], lamps(?) of iron; [130 brightly colored woolen garments], purple linen garments and wool [for the scarlet garments] of Urartu [and Kirhi, together with] the property of his palace, [I carried off], I heaped up his goods. My official and [my officers] I sent to the temple of Haldia, [and Haldia, his god], and Bagbartu, his goddess, [together with the great wealth[1] of his temple, all there was, [x+4 talents, 3] minas of gold, 6 *ariat* of gold, [162 talents[1], 20 minas less 6/36, of silver, [1 *ashtartu*] of its door, weighing 2 talents of gold; [1 bolt of gold, 1] peg of silver, 1 key of silver, [(shaped like) a protecting goddess wearing the tiara[1], bearing mace and ring, [the four of them (constituting) the lock of the door. Ornaments of the shrine, [which weighed[1] 2 talents and 12 minas of gold. [1 great dagger of gold] weighing 26 minas and 3/36 of gold, [96 lances of silver], *gurpisi* of silver, bows [of silver, spears of] silver, whose setting and inlay were [of gold, 12 great shields of silver, whose edges (molding) were ornamented with heads [of dragons, lions and wild-oxen. . . . . .

3. OTHER PRISM FRAGMENTS INCLUDE:

214. 1. (S 2022) (*Col. I*) (*Nothing certain.*)

(*Col. II*) . . . . . them and . . . . . as booty [I counted]. Mattî of Atuna who ⌜put his trust⌝ in [Mitâ] of Muski, saw the defeat of Amris and the plundering of . . . . . and his courage failed (*lit.*, his heart palpitated); [to (offer) payment of tribute and] tax, (to submit) to the yoke of Assur, they sent their messenger bearing a [friendly (?)] message to Sikris of the land of the Medes, into my presence and [kissed my feet].

In my ninth campaign against . . . . . great . . . . . Ashdod(?) . . . . .

215. 2. (K 1673) . . . . . the gods who dwell in . . . . . of the god Assur . . . . . gold . . . . . their province(?) . . . . [Peoples, the spoil] of my hands, therein [I settled]; to the governor . . . . . with the people of [Assyria.] . . . . . great province(?) . . . . . the land of Arazi . . . . . .

216. 3. (S 2050) . . . . . 10(?) *dugli* . . . . . *-haru* . . . . . .

217. The following fragment is from the bottom of a six-sided prism, and gives the text of the closing lines of the inscription. Only one word, "in(?)," of the last line of Col. I is left. Around the hole in the bottom of the prism were pictured a procession of bulls, one to the side.

218. 4. (K 4818) . . . . . my . . . . . to . . . . . (Let (some) future prince], when that temple tower (*ziggurrat*) [shall become old and fall to ruins], [restore] its ruins. [My memorial, together with the memorials[1] of the kings my fathers,[1] to its place] let him restore. [Then Shamash[1] and Adad will hear his prayers. [But if] he destroys my [memorial and my inscription, may Shamash and Adad, the[1] great gods, in anger [look upon him. His name] (and) his seed may they destroy in the land.

Sargon, king of Assyria.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

A. FROM ASSUR

219. From Assur (Kalat-Sherkat) we have a number of *zigatu* (phallic cone) and brick inscriptions. It is probable that they all belong to the last year of the reign (one is actually so dated). The text of these inscriptions is published in *KAH*, I, Nos. 40–42, 71 (*zigatu* inscriptions), and 37–39 (brick inscriptions).

220. 1. (No. 40) [To . . . . .], the great . . . . . , his lord . . . . . [Sargon, *etc.;*], viceroy of Babylon, king of [Sumer and Akkad] . . . . . the temple of Assur, his lord . . . . . in (its) entirety, the whole temple, in its ⌜entirety⌝, ... and [has set up his *zigâte*⌝ . . . . . surrounded the whole . . . . . for length of days, stability of reign, ... for Assur, his lord, he has built (this temple).

221. 2. (No. 41) For Assur, father of the gods, ⌜his lord⌝, Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, ⌜viceroy of Babylon⌝, ... ⌜E-harsaggal-kurkurra⌝ . . . . . the whole . . . . , the whole temple in its entirety . . . . . the frieze and cornice, and my *zigâti* [I have set up] . . . . . for . . . . . length of days, stability of reign . . . . . Eponymy of Nashir-Bêl.[1]

222. 3. (No. 42) To . . . . . Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, E-harsaggal-kurkurra . . . . . the walls of *nameru*, ... the nameru of frieze and cornice . . . . . For his life . . . . . .

The month *Abu*, the . . . day, ...

223. 4. (No. 71) For Assur, father of the gods, his lord . . . . . Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of [Babylon] . . . . . E-harsaggal-kurkurra, ... the walls of *namerû* . . . . . the *nameru*, ... which were of stone . . . . . for his life . . . . . the overthrow of his enemies . . . . . .

The month *Abu* . . . . . .[2]

[1] 705 B.C. [2] [See *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, p. 89, n. 13.]

224. 5.[1] To Assur, father of the gods, his lord, Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, has caused the bricks to be made, and with white bricks of the kiln has made bright as the day the walk of the court of E-harsaggal-kurkurra.

225. 6. (No. 39) For Assur, his lord, Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, for his life, has built (this house).

B. FROM NINEVEH

226. 1. Inscription on bricks (from Kouyunjik) now in the British Museum (text, IR, 6, No. VII) reads:

Sargon, prefect of Enlil, priest of Assur, viceroy of Nabû and Marduk, the temple of Nabû and Marduk, his lords, from its foundation to its top, for his life, the welfare of his seed, the destruction of his enemies, the success of the crops of Assyria, the welfare of Assyria, has built.

227. 2. On some fragments of clay bowls in the British Museum stands a text commemorating the restoration of the temple of Nabû and Marduk at Nineveh (text, IIIR, 3, No. 12, and Winckler, *op. cit.*, Plate 49, Nos. 14 and 15).

Sargon, the mighty king . . . . king of Assyria, prefect of Enlil (*v.*, rightful ruler), priest of Assur . . . . who for . . . . . his going forth(?) the great gods . . . . . The temple of Nabû and Marduk, which . . . . . had built fell to ruins and Adad-nirâri, son of . . . . . (re)built it. Of that temple the . . . . . became ruinous and old. That (I) should change (tear down) its structure, through . . . . . and the seer's art, they commanded me and the temple of Nabû and Marduk, my lords, ... [I rebuilt]. Therein I set up my *zigâti*. For my life and the welfare [of my city] . . . . . I rebuilt it.

[1] Nos. 37 and 38 (Semitic and Sumerian versions of the same inscription).

228. 3. On an opaque glass vase[1] and a portion of a chalcedony vase, both in the British Museum, is found, beside the figures of the lion ("often found on antiquities which were the personal property of Sargon II"), the short inscription:

Palace of Sargon, king of Assyria.

229 4. Seal impression (S 2276); *cf.* Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, Plate 49, No. 12:

Month of *Tebetu*, twenty-fifth day, the (feudal) dues which Sargon, king of Assyria, received from(?) the governor of (a province). The eponymy of Taklak-ana-Bêl.[2]

230. 5. Another seal impression (*ibid.*, No. 13):

To Nin-gal, his lady, Sargon, king of Assyria.

[1] A similar vase fragment is in the Berlin Museum (text, *VS*, I, No. 73).

[2] 715 B.C.

CHAPTER V

SENNACHERIB; THE HISTORICAL TEXTS

231. The very abundant historical and building records (these are usually combined in the documents) which have come to us from the reign of Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.) are here arranged as in the writer's work mentioned in the next paragraph. The historical sections are given in chronological order with the exception of the final edition of the annals, which is put first. The sections of the records which describe the king's building operations have also been separated from their historical introductions.

I. THE FINAL EDITION OF THE ANNALS

232. The final edition of Sennacherib's annals forms the text of the famous Taylor Prism of the British Museum, published in IR, Plates 37 f., and in the different editions of Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*. In 1920 the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago acquired an even more perfect copy of this text, which was published by Luckenbill in *The Annals of Sennacherib*, "Oriental Institute Publications," Vol. II. The Taylor Prism is dated in the eponymy of Bêl-emuranni, 691 B.C.; the Oriental Institute prism, in the eponymy of Gahilu, 689 B.C. The numbering of the lines in the following translation is that of the latter prism.

Introduction (Col. I, ll. 1–19)

233. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the earth); the wise ruler (*lit.*, shepherd, "pastor"), favorite of the great gods, guardian of the right, lover of justice; who lends support, who comes to the aid of the needy, who turns (his thoughts) to pious deeds; perfect hero, mighty man; first among all princes, the flame that consumes the insubmissive, who strikes the wicked with the thunderbolt; the god Assur, the great mountain, has intrusted to me an unrivaled king-

ship, and, above all those who dwell in palaces, has made powerful my weapons; from the upper sea of the setting sun to the lower sea of the rising sun, all humankind (*lit.*, the black-headed race) he has brought in submission at my feet and mighty kings feared my warfare—leaving their abodes and flying alone, like the *sudinnu*, the bird of the cave (? cliffs) to (some) inaccessible place.

First campaign. Against Merodach-baladan of Babylon; tribute from the Aramean tribes on the lower Euphrates (*Col. I, ll. 20–64*)

234. In my first campaign I accomplished the defeat of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, together with the army of Elam, his ally, in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he forsook his camp and made his escape alone; (so) he saved his life. The chariots, horses, wagons, mules, which he left behind at the onset of battle, my hands seized. Into his palace, which is in Babylon, joyfully I entered. I opened his treasure-house:—gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones of every kind (name), goods and property without limit (number), heavy tribute, his harem, (his) courtiers and officials, singers, male and female, all of his artisans, as many as there were, the servants of his palace, I brought out, I counted as spoil. In the might of Assur, my lord, 75 of his strong, walled cities, of Chaldea, and 420 small cities of their environs, I surrounded, I conquered, their spoil I carried off. The Arabs, Arameans, and Chaldeans, who were in Erech, Nippur, Kish, Harsagkalamma, Kutha and Sippar, together with the citizens, the rebels (*lit.*, sinners), I brought out, as booty I counted them. On my return (march), the Tu'muna, Rihihu, Iadakku, Ubudu, Kibrê, Malahu, Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru'ûa, Pukudu, Hamrânu, Hagarânu, Nabatu, Li'tâu, Arameans (who were) not submissive, all of them I conquered. 208,000 people, great and small, male and female, horses,

mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, without number, a heavy booty, I carried off to Assyria.

235. In the course of my campaign, I received from Nabû-bêl-shumâte, governor of the city of Hararate, gold, silver, great mulberry (?, *musukkani*) trees, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, as his onerous contribution. The people (*lit.*, subjects) of the city of Hirimme, wicked enemies, I cut down with the sword. Not one escaped. Their corpses I hung on stakes, surrounding the city (with them). That district (province) I reorganized. One ox, 10 lambs, 10 *homers* of wine, 20 *homers* of dates, its choicest, (as gifts) for the gods of Assyria, my lords, I established for all time.

Second campaign. Against the tribes east of the Tigris (*Col. I, l. 65—Col. II, l. 36*)

236. In my second campaign Assur, my lord, encouraged me, and against the land of the Kassites and the land of the Iasubigallai, who from of old had not been submissive to the kings, my fathers, I marched. In the midst of the high mountains I rode on horseback, where the terrain was difficult, and had my chariot[1] drawn up with ropes; where it became too steep, I clambered up on foot like the wild-ox. The cities of Bît-Kilamzah, Hardishpi and Bît-Kubatti, their strong, walled cities, I besieged, I captured. People, horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, I brought out from their midst and counted as booty. And their small cities, which were numberless, I destroyed, I devastated, I turned into ruins. The houses of the steppe, (namely) the tents, wherein they dwelt, I set on fire and turned them into (a mass) of flames. I turned round, and made that Bît-Kilamzah into a fortress,—I made its walls stronger than they had ever been before,—and settled therein people of the lands my hands had conquered. The people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Iasubigallai, who fled before my arms, I brought down

[1] *Lit.*, chariot of my feet.

out of the mountains and settled them in Hardishpi and Bît-Kubatti. Into the hand(s) of my official, the governor of Arrapha, I placed (*lit.*, counted) them. I had a stele made, and the might of my conquering hand which I established upon them, I caused to be inscribed thereon. In the midst of the city I set it up.

237. The front of my yoke I turned (*i.e.*, I turned about) and took the road to the land of the Ellipi. Before me (my approach) Ispabâra, their king, forsook his strong cities, his treasure cities (*lit.*, houses), and fled to distant (parts). Over the whole of his wide land I swept like a hurricane. The cities of Marubishti and Akkuddu, his royal residence cities, together with 34 small cities of their environs, I besieged, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The people, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, without number, I carried off. I brought him to naught, I diminished his land. Sisirtu and Kummahlum, strong cities, together with the small cities of their environs, the district (province) of Bît-Barrû in its totality, I cut off from his land and added it to the territory (*lit.*, border) of Assyria. Elenzash I turned into the royal city and stronghold of that district. I changed its former name, calling its (new) name Kâr-Sin-ahe-eriba (Sennacherib-burg). Peoples of the lands my hands had conquered I settled therein. To my official, the governor of Harhar, I handed it (counted it). Thus I extended my land.

238. On my return march I received the heavy tribute of the distant Medes, whose name no one among the kings, my fathers, had (ever) heard. To the yoke of my rule I made them submit.

Third campaign. Against Syria-Palestine; siege of Jerusalem (Col. II, l. 37—Col. III, l. 49)

239. In my third campaign I went against the Hittite-land (Syria). Lulê (Elulæus), king of Sidon,—the terrifying

splendor (*lit.*, terrors of the splendors) of my sovereignty overcame him and far off into the midst of the sea he fled. (There) he died. Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bît-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba, Ushu, Akzib, Akkû, his strong, walled cities, where there were supplies (*lit.*, fodder and drinking-places) for his garrisons,—the terrors of the weapon of Assur, my lord, overpowered them and they bowed in submission at my feet. Tuba'lu (Ethbaal, Ithobalus) I seated on the royal throne over them, and tribute, gift(s) for my majesty, I imposed upon him for all time, without ceasing. From Minhimmu (Menahem), the Shamsimurunite, Tuba'lu, the Sidonite, Abdi-li'ti, the Arvadite, Uru-milki, the Gublite, Mitinti, the Ashdodite, Budu-ilu, the Beth-Ammonite, Kammusunadbi, the Moabite, Malik-rammu, the Edomite,—kings of Amurru, all of them, lavish gifts, as their heavy tribute, they brought before me for the fourth time, and kissed my feet. But Sidka, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke,—the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of his father's house, I tore away and brought to Assyria. Sharru-lu-dâri, son of Rukibti, their former king, I set over the people of Ashkelon and I imposed upon him the payment of tribute (in the form of) presents to my majesty. He accepted (*lit.*, bore) my yoke. In the course of my campaign, Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banaibarka, Asuru, cities of Sidka, who had not speedily bowed in submission at my feet, I besieged, I conquered, I carried off their spoil.

240. The officials, nobles and people of Ekron, who had thrown Padî, their king, bound by (treaty to) Assyria,[1] into fetters of iron and had given him over to Hezekiah, the Jew (*Iaudai*),—he kept him in confinement like an enemy,—they (*lit.*, their heart) became afraid and called upon the Egyptian kings, the bowmen, chariots and horses of the king of Meluh-

[1] *Lit.*, lord of the oath and curse of Assyria.

ha (Ethiopia), a countless host, and these came to their aid. In the neighborhood of the city of Altakû (Eltekeh), their ranks being drawn up before me, they offered battle. (Trusting) in the aid of Assur, my lord, I fought with them and brought about their defeat. The Egyptian charioteers and princes, together with the charioteers of the Ethiopian king, my hands took alive in the midst of the battle. Altakû (and) Tamnâ I besieged, I captured and took away their spoil. I drew near to Ekron and slew the governors and nobles who had committed sin (*i.e.*, rebelled), and hung their bodies on stakes (*or*, pillars) around the city. The citizens who had sinned and treated (Assyria) lightly, I counted as spoil. The rest of them, who were not guilty of sin and contempt, who were without sin (blame),—I spoke their pardon. Padî, their king, I brought out of Jerusalem, I set him on the royal throne over them and imposed upon him my kingly tribute. As for Hezekiah, the Jew, who did not submit to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities, as well as the small cities in their neighborhood, which were without number,—by escalade[1] and by bringing up siege engines(?), by attacking and storming on foot, by mines, tunnels and breaches(?), I besieged and took (those cities). 200,150 people, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, without number, I brought away from them and counted as spoil. Himself, like a caged bird, I shut up in Jerusalem, his royal city. Earthworks I threw up against him,—the one coming out of his city gate I turned back to his misery. The cities of his, which I had despoiled, I cut off from his land and to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padî, king of Ekron, and Silli-bêl, king of Gaza, I gave them. And (thus) I diminished his land. I added to the former tribute, and laid upon him (*v.*, them) as their yearly payment, a tax (in the form of) gifts for my majesty. As for Hezekiah, the terrifying

[1] *Lit.*, by causing (them) to tread the ramp, or, incline.

splendor of my majesty overcame him, and the Urbi (Arabs) and his mercenary(?)[1] troops which he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his royal city, deserted him (*lit.*, took leave). In addition to 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, (there were) gems, antimony, jewels(?), large *sandu*-stones, couches of ivory, house chairs of ivory, elephant's hide, ivory (*lit.*, elephant's "teeth"), maple(?), boxwood, all kinds of valuable (heavy) treasures, as well as his daughters, his harem, his male and female musicians, (which) he had (them) bring after me to Nineveh, my royal city. To pay tribute and to accept (*lit.*, do) servitude he dispatched his messengers.

Fourth campaign. Against Bît-Iakin, lower Babylonia (Col. III, ll. 50–74)

241. In my fourth campaign, Assur, my lord, gave me courage, and I mustered my numerous armies and gave the command to proceed against Bît-Iakin. In the course of my campaign I accomplished the overthrow of Shuzubi, the Chaldean,—who sat in the midst of the swamps,—in the city of Bitûtu. That one,—the terror (*lit.*, ague, chills) of my battle fell upon him, and broke his courage (*lit.*, tore his heart); like a criminal(?) he fled alone, and his place was seen no more. The front of my yoke I turned and to Bît-Iakin I took the way.

242. That (same) Merodach-baladan, whose defeat I had brought about in the course of my first campaign, and whose forces I had shattered,—the roar of my mighty arms and the onset of my terrible battle he feared and he gathered together the gods of his whole land in their shrines, and loaded them into ships and fled like a bird to the city of Nagite-rakki, which is in the midst of the sea. His brother, the seed of his father's house, whom he had left by the sea-

[1] *Lit.*, choice, picked.

shore, together with the rest of the people of his land, I brought out of Bît-Iakin, (from) the midst of the swamps and cane-brakes, and counted (them) as spoil. I turned about. His cities I destroyed, I devastated, I made like ruin heaps. Upon his ally, the king of Elam, I poured out terror.

243. On my return I placed on his (Merodach-baladan's) royal throne, Assur-nâdin-shum, my oldest son, offspring of my loins (knees). I made subject to him the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

Fifth campaign. Against the hill tribes east of the Tigris (Col. III, l. 75—Col. IV, l. 31)

244. In my fifth campaign the inhabitants[1] of the cities of Tumurru, Sharum, Ezâma, Kibshu, Halgidda, Kûa (and) Kana, whose abodes were set on the peak of Mount Nipur, a steep mountain, like the nests of the eagle (vulture), king of birds,—(these people) were not submissive to my yoke. I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Nipur and with my picked bodyguard and my relentless warriors, I, like a strong wild-ox, went before them (led the way). Gullies, mountain torrents and waterfalls, dangerous cliffs, I surmounted in my sedan chair. Where it was too steep for my chair, I advanced on foot. Like a young gazelle I mounted the high(est) peaks in pursuit of them. Wherever my knees gave out, I sat down on (some) mountain bowlder and drank the cold water from the water skin (to quench) my thirst. To the summits of the mountains I pursued them and brought about their overthrow. Their cities I captured and I carried off their spoil; I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (them) with fire.

245. The front of my yoke I turned. Against Maniae, king of the city of Ukku, of the land of Daie, who was not submissive, I took the road. Before my day, none of the kings who lived before me had (ever) traveled the unblazed trails and wearisome paths which (stretch) along these

[1] *Lit.*, subjects.

rugged mountains. At the foot of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, I had my camp pitched, and I, on a house chair, together with my seasoned warriors, made my wearisome way through their narrow passes and with great difficulty climbed to the highest peak of the mountains. That Maniae saw the clouds of dust raised by the feet of my armies, abandoned Ukku, his royal city, and fled to distant parts. I besieged Ukku, I captured (it) and took away its spoil. All kinds of goods and merchandise, the treasure of his palace, I carried away from it, and counted as booty. Furthermore, 33 cities within the bounds of his province I captured. People, asses, cattle and sheep, I carried away from them as spoil. I destroyed, I devastated and I burned (them) with fire.

Sixth campaign. Second expedition against Bît-Iakin (Col. IV, ll. 32–53)

246. In my sixth campaign the rest of the people of Bît-Iakin, who had run off before my powerful weapons like wild asses, who had gathered together the gods of their whole land in their shrines, had crossed the great sea of the rising sun and in the city of Nagitu of Elam had established their abodes;—in Hittite (Syrian) ships I crossed the sea (against them). Nagitu, Nagitu-di'bina, together with the (lands of) Hilmu, Pillatu and Hupapanu, provinces of Elam, I conquered. The people of Bît-Iakin, together with their gods, and the people of the king of Elam, I carried off,—not a rebel (*lit.*, sinner) escaped. I had them embarked in vessels, brought over to this side, and started on the way to Assyria. The cities which were in those provinces I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. To mounds and ruins I turned (them).

247. On my return march Shuzubu, the Babylonian, who during an uprising in the land had turned to himself the rule of Sumer and Akkad,—I accomplished his defeat in

a battle of the plain (open battle). I seized him alive with my (own) hands, I threw him into bonds and fetters of iron and brought him to Assyria. The king of Elam, who had gone over to his side and had aided him, I defeated. His forces I scattered and I shattered his host.

Seventh campaign. Against Elam (*Col. IV, l. 54—Col. V, l. 16*)

248. In my seventh campaign Assur, my lord, supported me, and I advanced against Elam. Bît-Ha'iri (and) Rasâ, cities on the border of Assyria, which the Elamite had seized by force during the time of my father,—in the course of my campaign I conquered and I despoiled them. I settled my garrisons therein, and restored them to the borders of Assyria. I placed them under (*lit.*, in the hand of) the commandant of Dêr. (The cities of) Bubê, Dunni-Shamash, Bît-Risia, Bît-ahlamê, Duru, Kalte-Sulai, Shilibtu, Bît-Asusi, Kâr-Zêr-ikîsha, Bît-Gissi, Bît-Katpalani, Bît-Imbia, Hamânu, Bît-Arrabi, Burutu, Dimtu-sha-Sulai, Dimtu-sha-Mâr-bîti-etir, Harri-ashlakê, Rabbai, Râsu, Akkabarina, Til-Uhuri, Hamranu, Naditu, together with the cities of the passes of the cities of Bît-Bunaki, Til-Humbi, Dimtu-sha-Dume-ilu, Bît-Ubia, Balti-lishir, Tagab-lishir, Shanakidate, the lower Masutu, Sar-hudiri, Alum-sha-bêlit-bîti, Bît-Ahê-iddina, Il-teuba, 34 strong cities, together with the small cities of their environs, which were countless, I besieged, I conquered, I despoiled, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire, with the smoke of their conflagration I covered the wide heavens like a hurricane.

249. The Elamite, Kudur-nahundu, heard of the overthrow of his cities, terror overwhelmed him, the (people of) the rest of his cities he brought into the strongholds. He himself left Madaktu, his royal city, and took his way to the city of Haidala which is in the distant mountains. I gave the word to march against Madaktu, his royal city.

250. The month of rain set in (with) extreme cold and the heavy storms sent down rain upon rain and snow. I was afraid of the swollen mountain streams; the front of my yoke I turned and took the road to Nineveh.

251. At that time, at the command of Assur, my lord, Kudur-Nahundu, the king of Elam, did not live three months longer (*lit.*, did not fill three months) but died suddenly, before his appointed time (*lit.*, on a day not of his fate). After him, Umman-menanu, who possessed neither sense nor judgment, his younger(?) brother, sat on his throne.

Eighth campaign. Against Elam; the battle of Halulê (Col. V, l. 17—Col. VI, l. 35)

252. In my eighth campaign, after Shuzubu had revolted, and the Babylonians, wicked devils, had closed the city gates,—their hearts planning resistance; Shuzubu, the Chaldean, a weakling hero, who had no knees, a slave, subject to the governor of the city of Lahiri,—about him there gathered the fugitive Arameans, the runaway, the murderer, the robber. Into the marshes they descended and made rebellion. But I surrounded him completely. I pressed him to the life. Through fear and hunger he fled to Elam. When plotting and treachery were (hatched) against him (there), he hastened from Elam and entered Shuanna.[1] The Babylonians placed him on the throne,—for which he was not fitted, and intrusted to him the government of Sumer and Akkad. The treasury of the temple Esagila they opened and the gold and silver belonging to Bêl (Marduk) and Sarpanit, the property of the temple(s) of their gods they brought forth and to Umman-menanu, king of Elam, who possessed neither sense nor judgment, they sent it as a bribe (saying): "Gather thy army, prepare thy camp, haste to Babylon, come to our aid (*lit.*, stand at our side), for thou art our trust." That Elamite,

[1] The sacred precinct of Babylon.

whose cities I had conquered and turned into ruins on my former campaign against Elam, without thinking (*lit.*, his heart did not consider) received the bribes from them, gathered his army and camp, collected (his) chariots and wagons, hitched (his) horses and mules to them. The lands of Parsuash, Anzan, Pasheru, Ellipi, the tribes of Iazan, Lakabra, Harzunu, Dummuku, Sulai, Samuna, the son of Merodach-baladan, the lands of Bît-Adini, Bît-Amukkanu, Bît-Sillana, Bît-Sâlatutu-akki, the city of Lahiru, the tribes of Pukudu, Gambulum, Halatum, Ru'ûa, Ubulum, Malahu, Rapiku, Hindaru, Damunu,—an enormous host of allies he called to his side. The masses of them took the road to Akkad. Drawing nigh to Babylon, they exchanged courtesies with Shuzubu, the Chaldean king of Babylon, and brought their host to a stand. Like the onset of the locust swarms (many locusts) of the springtime they kept steadily coming on against me to offer battle. With the dust of their feet covering the wide heavens, like a mighty storm with (its) masses of dense (*lit.*, pregnant) clouds, they drew up in battle array before me by (in) the city of Halulê, on the bank of the Tigris. They blocked my passage and offered battle.

253. As for me,—to Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, Nabû, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the gods in whom I trust, I prayed for victory over the mighty foe. They speedily gave ear to my prayers and came to my aid. Like a lion I raged. I put on (my) coat of mail. (My) helmet, emblem of victory (battle), I placed upon my head. My great battle chariot, which brings low the foe, I hurriedly mounted in the anger of my heart. The mighty bow which Assur had given me, I seized in my hands; the javelin, piercing to the life, I grasped. Against all of the hosts of wicked enemies, I raised my voice (*lit.*, cried out), rumbling like a storm. Like Adad I roared.

254. At the word of Assur, the great lord, my lord, on

flank and front I pressed upon the enemy like the onset of a raging storm. With the weapons of Assur, my lord, and the terrible onset of my attack, I stopped their advance, I succeeded in surrounding them (*or*, turning them back), I decimated the enemy host with arrow and spear. All of their bodies I bored through like a sieve(?). Humbanundasha, the field-marshal of the king of Elam, a trustworthy man, commander of his armies, his chief support, together with his nobles, who wear the golden girdle dagger and whose hands (wrists) are encircled with heavy (thick?) rings of shining gold,—like fat steers who have hobbles put on them,—speedily I cut them down and established their defeat. I cut their throats like lambs. I cut off their precious lives (as one cuts) a string. Like the many waters of a storm, I made (the contents of) their gullets and entrails run down upon the wide earth. My prancing steeds harnessed for my riding, plunged into the streams of their blood as (into) a river. The wheels of my war chariot, which brings low the wicked and the evil, were bespattered with blood and filth. With the bodies of their warriors I filled the plain, like grass. (Their) testicles I cut off, and tore out their privates like the seeds of cucumbers of *Simânu* (June). Their hands I cut off. The heavy(?) rings of brightest gold (and) silver which (they had) on their wrists I took away. With sharp swords I pierced their belts and seized the girdle daggers of gold and silver which (they carried) on their persons. The rest of his nobles, together with Nabû-shum-ishkun, son of Merodach-baladan, who had taken fright at (before) my onslaught and had gone over to their side, (these) my hands seized in the midst of the battle. The chariots and their horses, whose riders had been slain at the beginning of the terrible onslaught, and who had been left to themselves, kept running back and forth (*lit.*, going and returning) for a distance of two *bêru* ("double-hours"),—I put an end to their (the riders') fighting. That Umman-menanu, king of

Elam, together with the king of Babylon (and) the princes of Chaldea, who had gone over to his side, the terror of my battle overpowered them (*lit.*, their bodies) like a bull. They abandoned their tents and to save their lives they trampled the bodies of their (fallen) soldiers, they fled like young pigeons that are pursued. They were beside themselves (*lit.*, their hearts were torn) they held back(?)[1] their urine, but let their dung go into their chariots. In pursuit of them I dispatched my chariots and horses after them. Those among them who had escaped, who had fled for their lives, wherever they (my charioteers) met them, they cut them down with the sword.

(*Here follows a building inscription. See § 423.*)

II. THE ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

255. The earliest of Sennacherib's records, a cylinder, now in the British Museum (No. 113,203), contains the account of the first campaign only. It was presumably written soon after the event. The text is published in Sidney Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib*.

256. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria, king without a rival; prayerful shepherd (ruler), worshiper of the great gods; guardian of the right, lover of justice, who lends support, who comes to the aid of the needy, who turns (his thoughts) to pious deeds; perfect hero, mighty man, first among all princes, the flame that consumes the insubmissive, who strikes the wicked with the thunderbolt;—the god Assur, the great mountain, has intrusted to me an unrivaled kingship and above all those who dwell in palaces has made powerful my weapons.[2]

257. At the beginning of my reign, when I solemnly took my seat on the throne, and ruled the inhabitants of Assyria

[1] My medical friends tell me that one would expect to hear of the passing, rather than the retention, of the urine.

[2] The lines of this and the following paragraphs are restored in part from a duplicate text.

with mercy and grace, Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, (whose heart is wicked), an instigator of revolt, plotter of rebellion (*lit.*, belly, mind, of rebellion), doer of evil, whose guilt is heavy, brought over to his side Shutur-Nahundu, the Elamite, and gave him gold, silver and precious stones, and (so) secured him as an ally. Imbappa, *turtan* of the king of Elam, Tannânu, the second in command, 10 (division-) commanders, together with Nergal-nâsir, the Sutean, who was fearless in battle, 80,000 bowmen, ... horses which were with them, he sent to Sumer and Akkad (Babylonia) to his aid. And that [Merodach-baladan], the cities of . . . . Ur, Eridu, Kullab, Kissik, Nimid-Laguda, the lands of Bît-Iakin, Bît-Amukkâni, Bît-Salli, Bît-Dakkuri, all the Chaldeans, as many as there were, who (dwell) on the shore of [the Salt Sea], the tribes of Tu'muna, Rihihu, Ubudu, Iadakku, Kiprê, Malihu, who (dwell) on the bank of [the Tigris], the tribes of Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru'ua, Pukudu, who (dwell) on the bank of [the Uknû], the tribes of Hamranu, Hagaranu, Nabatu, Li'tâu, Arameans who are not submissive, who know no rest,[1] the cities of Nippur, . . . Borsippa, Kutha, all of Babylonia, he gathered together and marshaled for the fight.

258. To me, Sennacherib, whose heart is exalted, they reported these evil deeds; I raged like a lion, and gave the command to march into Babylonia against him. That evil prop of the devil heard of my march to battle, and the horse and bowmen of the Elamites, the Arameans, and the Chaldeans, together with Nergal-nâsir and the ten (division-) commanders of Elam, who know no rest,[1] who had with them a countless host,—the organization of these he perfected (strengthened), brought them all into Kutha, and (there) had a watch kept on the progress of my campaign. ⌜Meanwhile⌝ I had my teams (yokes) prepared, on the twentieth day of

[1] *Or, possibly,* who do not heed death.

Shabâtu I set out from Assur ahead of my army, like a mighty bull; I did not wait for my army, I did not hold back. My general (and) governors I sent on to Kish, ahead of me, (with the order): "Take the road against Merodach-baladan, do not hold back, keep a close watch over him (*lit.*, strengthen his guard)." That one saw my governors and with all of his troops sallied out of the gate of Zamama and did battle with my captains in the plain of Kish. As for my captains, the enemy's onset of battle against them was mighty and they could not stand before him. They sent their messengers for help to me (while I was) in the neighborhood of Kutha.

259. In the anger of my heart I made an assault upon Kutha; the troops about its walls I slaughtered like lambs and took the city. The horse and bowmen of the Elamite, the Arameans (and) the Chaldeans, the (division-) commanders of the ⌜king⌝ of Elam, as well as Nergal-nâsir, together with the citizens, the rebels (*lit.*, sinners), I brought forth and counted as spoil. I raged like a lion, I stormed like a tempest, with my merciless warriors I set my face against Merodach-baladan, (who was) in Kish. And that worker of iniquity saw my advance from afar; terror fell upon him, he forsook all of his troops, and fled to the land of Guzummanu. Tannânu, together with the armies of Elamites, Chaldeans, and Arameans, who had stood at his side (espoused his cause) and had come to his aid,—their defeat I accomplished and I shattered his forces. Adinu, son of the wife of Merodach-baladan, together with Baskânu, brother of Iati'e queen of the Arabs, along with their armies, I seized as living captives. The chariots, wagons, horses, mules, asses, camels, and (Bactrian) camels, which had been abandoned during the battle, my hands captured.

260. In joy of heart and with a radiant face I hastened to Babylon and entered the palace of Merodach-baladan, to take charge of the property and goods (laid up) therein. I

opened his treasure-house. Gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, beds, house chairs, palanquins, his royal standards(?), whose inlay was of gold and silver, all kinds of property and goods, and without number,—an enormous treasure,—his wife, his harem, his slave girls(?), his officials, his nobles, his courtiers, the male and female musicians, the palace slaves, who gladdened his princely mind, all of the artisans, as many as there were, his palace menials(?),—(these) I brought forth and counted as spoil. I hurried after him, sent my warriors to Guzummanu, into the midst of the swamps and marshes and they searched for him for five days, but his (hiding)-place was not found. The rest of his horses and troops, who were exhausted, who had fled from him like hinds and had not gone with him, I gathered from the midst of plain and highland.

261. In the course of my march the cities Amatu, Hauae, Supabu, Nukabu, Bît-Sannabi, Kutain, Kidrina, Dûr-Ladini, Bitâti, Banitu, the land of Guzummanu, the cities of Dûr-Iansuri, Dûr-Abiata', Dûr-Rudumme, Bît-Rahê, Hapisha, Sadi-ilu, Hurudu, Sahrina, Iltuk, Allallu, Marad, Iakimuna, Kubruna, Bît-Kudurri, Sûka-Marusi, in all 33 strong, walled cities of Bît-Dakkuri with 250 small cities (hamlets) within their borders; the cities Dûr-Appê, Dûr-Tanê, Dûr-Sama', Sarrabatu, Salahatu, Dûr-Abdai, Sappihimari, Sibtu-sha-Makkamê, in all 8 strong, walled cities of Bît-Sa'alli, with 120 hamlets within their borders; the cities Sapia, Sarrabanu, Larak, Parak-marri, Bît-Ilu-bâni, Ahudu, Sha-issur-Adad, Shaharratu, Manahhu, Sha-amelê, Dûr-Akkia, Nagitu, Nur-abinu, Harsuarra, Dûr-Rukbi, Dandahulla, Dûr-Bir-Dada, Bît-ri'e, Dûr-Ugurri, Hindaina, Dûr-Uait, Bît-Taurâ, Saphuna, Buharru, Harbe-Iddina, Harbe-Kalbi, Shabarrê, Bît-Bâni-ilûa, Sulâdu, Bît-Iltamasama', Bît-Dîni-ilu, Dakala, Hameza, Belâ, Tairu, Kiprânu, Iltaratu, Akam-shakina, Sagabatu-sha-Mardukia, in all 39 strong, walled cities of Bît-

Amukkâni, with 350 hamlets within their borders; the cities Bît-Zakudia, Larsa, Kullab, Eridu, Kissik, Nimid-Laguda, Dûr-Iakini and Kâr-Nabû, which is (are) beside the Salt Sea (the Persian Gulf), in all 8 strong, walled cities of Bît-Iakin, with 100 hamlets within their borders; a (grand) total of 88 strong, walled cities of Chaldea, with 820 hamlets within their borders, I besieged, I conquered, I carried away their spoil. The grain and dates which were in their plantations, their harvest of the plain, I had my army devour. (Their towns) I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire, I turned them into forgotten tells.

262. The Urbi (Arabs), Arameans, Chaldeans, who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Harsagkalamma, together with the citizens, the rebels (sinners), I brought forth and counted as spoil. The grain and dates which were in their plantations, the planting of their garden beds, the harvest of their plain and highlands(?) I had my troops devour.

263. Bêl-ibni, son of a master-builder, a scion of Shuanna, who had grown up in my palace like a young hound, I placed over them as ⌜king of Akkad and Sumer⌝.

264. On my return march, the tribes of Tu'muna, Rihihu, Iadakku, Ubudu, Kiprê, [Malihu, Gurumu,] Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru'ûa, Pukudu, Hamrânu, Hagaranu, Nabatu, Li'tâu,—Arameans, who were not submissive, all of them, I captured, and carried off as spoil.

265. In the course of my campaign, I received the heavy tribute of Nabû-bêl-shumâte, governor of Hararati,—gold, silver, great mulberry(*musukkani*) trees, asses, camels, cattle and sheep.

266. The inhabitants (subjects) of the city of Hirimmu, evil enemies, who from of old had not submitted to any of the kings, my fathers, I slew with the sword. Not a soul escaped. That district I reorganized: 1 ox, 10 lambs, 10 *homers* of

wine, 20 *homers* of dates, its choicest, as standing dues for the gods of Assyria, my lords, I established for all time.

267. I returned to Assyria with 208,000 captive people, a huge spoil, 7,200 horses and mules, 11,073 asses, 5,230 camels, 80,050 cattle, 800,100 ewes.—This does not include the men, asses, camels, cattle and sheep which my troops had carried off and parceled out among themselves.—And the enemy citizens, strong and proud, who had not submitted to my yoke, I cut down with the sword and hung on stakes.

(*Here follows the earliest account of the building of the "Palace without a Rival," see §§ 363 f.*

III. THE ACCOUNT OF CAMPAIGNS 1 AND 2

268. The so-called "Bellino Cylinder" of the British Museum, published in Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plates 63 f., and Smith, *History of Sennacherib*, pp. 1 f., 24 f., 43 f., 140 f., contains the record of the first and second campaigns. It is dated in the eponymy of Nabû-liû (702 B.C.).

269. Sennacherib, etc. (*Introduction like that of preceding inscription.*)

First campaign (ll. 5–19)

270. At the beginning of my kingship, I brought about the overthrow of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, together with the armies of Elam, in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he forsook his camp, made his escape alone, fled to Guzummanu, went into the swamps and marshes, and (thus) saved his life. The chariots, wagons, horses, mules, asses, camels and (Bactrian) camels which he had forsaken at the onset of battle, my hands seized. Into his palace in Babylon I entered joyfully and I opened his treasure-house;—gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones of all kinds, goods and property, an enormous (heavy) treasure, his wife, his harem, his courtiers and attendants, all

of his artisans, as many as there were, his palace servants, I brought out, I counted as spoil, I seized.

271. I sent my soldiers after him to Guzummanu, into the midst of the swamps and marshes, and for five days they hunted him, but his (hiding-) place was not found (*lit.*, seen).

272. In the might of Assur, my lord, 89 of the strong, walled cities of Chaldea, and 820 small cities (hamlets) of their environs, I besieged, I conquered, I carried off their spoil. The Arabs, Arameans and Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Harsagkalamma, Kutha, together with the citizens (of these places), the rebels (sinners), I brought out, I counted as spoil.

273. Bêl-ibni, the son of a master-builder, a scion of Shuanna (Babylon), who had grown up in my palace like a young hound, I set over them as king of Sumer and Akkad.

274. On my return march, the tribes of the Tu'muna, Rihihu, Iadakku, Ubudu, Kiprê, Malihu, Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru'ûa, Pukudu, Hamrânu, Hagarânu, Nabatu, Li'tâu,—Arameans (who were) not submissive, all of them, I conquered. 208,000 people, male and female, 7,200 horses and mules, 11,703 asses, 5,230 camels, 80,100 cattle, 800,509 sheep, an enormous spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

275. In the course of my campaign, I received from Nabû-bêl-shumâte, governor of the city of Hararate, gold, silver, great mulberry (*musukkani*) trees, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, as his onerous contribution.

276. The inhabitants (subjects) of the city of Hirimme, wicked enemies, who from of old had not submitted to my yoke, I cut down with the sword. Not a soul escaped. That district (province) I reorganized: 1 ox, 10 lambs, 10 *homers* of wine, 20 *homers* of dates, its choicest, (as gifts) for the gods of Assyria, my lords, I established for all time.

Second campaign (*ll. 20–33*)

277. In my second campaign Assur, my lord, encouraged me, and against the land of the Kassites and the land of the Iasubigallai, wicked enemies, who from of old had not been submissive to the kings, my fathers, I marched. In the midst of the high mountains I rode on horseback, where the terrain was difficult, and had my chariot drawn up with ropes; where it became too steep, I clambered up on foot like the wild-ox. Bît-Kilamzah, their stronghold I besieged, I captured. People, great and small, horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, I brought out from its midst and counted as booty. Their small cities, which were numberless, I destroyed, I devastated, I turned into ruins. The houses of the steppe (namely) the tents for their protection (*i.e.*, wherein they dwelt), I set on fire and turned them into (a mass of) flames. I turned round, and made that Bît-Kilamzah into a fortress,—I made its defenses stronger than they had ever been before, and settled therein people of the lands my hands had conquered.

278. The people of the land of Kassites and the land of the Iasubigallai, who had fled before my arms, I brought down out of the mountains and settled them in the cities of Hardishpi and Bît-Kubatti. Into the hand(s) of my official, the governor of Arrapha, I placed (*lit.*, counted) them. I had a stele made, and the might of my conquering hand which I had established upon them, I had inscribed thereon. In the midst of the city I set it up.

279. The front of my yoke I turned (*i.e.*, I turned about) and took the road to the land of the Ellipi. Before me (*i.e.*, my approach) Ispabâra, their king, forsook his strong cities, his treasure cities, and fled to distant (parts). Over the whole of his wide land I swept like a hurricane. The cities of Marubishti and Akkuddu, his royal residence cities, together with 34 strong cities and the small cities of their environs, which were without number, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned

with fire. Their orchards I cut down, over their fertile(?) fields I poured out misery. The Ellipi, in their totality, I brought to naught. The people, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, without number, I carried off and brought them to naught.

280. Sisirtu and Kummahlum, strong cities, together with the small cities of their environs, the district (province) of Bît-Barrû in its totality, I cut off from his land and added it to the territory (*lit.*, border) of Assyria.

281. Elenzash I turned into the royal city and stronghold of that district. I changed its former name, calling its (new) name Kâr-Sin-ahê-eriba.

282. On my return I received the heavy tribute of the distant Medes, whose name no one among the kings, my fathers, had (ever) heard; to the yoke of my rule I made them submit.

(*For the building inscription which follows see §§ 372 f.*)

IV. RECORDS WRITTEN AFTER THE THIRD CAMPAIGN

283. The annals as they appeared after the third campaign are found on the Rassam Cylinder of the British Museum, published in part by Evetts in *ZA*, III, 311 f. It is dated in the eponymy of Mutunu (700 B.C.). This text, with the exception of the closing paragraph, became the standard for campaigns 1–3 of all the later editions of the annals. The reader is therefore referred to §§ 232 f. for the translation of all but the concluding paragraph of the account of the third campaign which is here given:

284. (In addition to the) 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, (there were) gems (precious stones), antimony, jewels(?), great *sandu*-stones (carnelian?), ivory beds, house chairs of ivory, elephant's hides, ivory (elephant's tusks, teeth), maple, boxwood, colored (woolen) garments, garments of linen, violet and purple wool, vessels of copper, iron, bronze and lead, iron, chariots, shields, lances, armor, girdle daggers

of iron, bows and arrows, spears, countless implements of war, together with his daughters, his palace women, his male and female musicians (which) he had (them) bring after me to Nineveh, my royal city. To pay tribute and to render servitude, he dispatched his messenger(s).

284*a*. From the booty of those lands which I plundered, 10,000 bows, 10,000 shields I took therefrom and added them to my royal equipment. The rest, the heavy spoil of enemy (captives), I divided like sheep among my whole camp (army) as well as my governors and the inhabitants of my large cities.

(*For the building inscription which followed see* §§ *379 f.*)

V. RECORDS WRITTEN AFTER THE FIFTH CAMPAIGN

285. On a British Museum prism, No. 103,000, published in *CT*, XXVI, Plates 1–37, we have, in addition to the standard record of campaigns 1–5 (see §§ 233 f. for translation), the account of two campaigns conducted by Sennacherib's generals. The prism is dated in the eponymy of Ilu-ittia of Damascus (694 B.C.).

1. ACCOUNT OF TWO CAMPAIGNS

a) *Campaign against Cilicia, 696 B.C.* (*Col. IV, ll. 61–91*)

286. In the eponymy of Shulmu-bêl, the governor of Rimusi, Kirua, prefect of the city of Illubru, a slave, subject to me, whom his gods forsook, caused the men of Hilakku (Cilicia) to revolt, and made ready for battle. The people who dwelt in Ingirrâ and Tarzi (Tarsus) came to his aid (*lit.*, side) and seized the Kue (Cilician) road, blocking traffic.

287. Bowmen, bearers of shield and lance, chariots, horses, my royal host, I sent against them. The defeat of the men of Hilakku who had come to his aid, they brought about in the midst of a difficult mountain. Ingirâ and Tarzi they took and carried off their spoil. That one they besieged in Illubru, his stronghold, and prevented his escape. With the assault of siege engines, and "great wall flies" (some siege

engine), by breaches(?), with the rush and attack of the foot soldiers, they brought about their overthrow and took the city.

288. Kirua, the prefect, together with the spoil of his cities, and the people of Hilakku, who had come to his aid, with asses, cattle and sheep, they brought to Nineveh into my presence.

289. I flayed Kirua. I rebuilt Illubru; people of the lands my hands had conquered I settled therein. The weapon (symbol) of Assur, my lord, I established in its midst. An alabaster stele I had (them) fashion and set up before him (Assur or the "weapon" of Assur).

b) Campaign against Til-garimmu, 695 B.C. (Col. V, ll. 1–22)

290. In the eponymy of Assur-bêl-usur, the governor of . . . . . against Til-garimmu, a city on the border of ⌜Tabalu⌝, whose kingdom Hidî had consolidated, I leveled my weapons. Bowmen, bearers of shield and lance, chariots, horses, my royal host, I sent against him. That city I besieged, and by the throwing up of earth(works) and the assault of siege engines, by the rush and attack of foot soldiers, they captured the city.

291. The people, together with the gods ⌜dwelling there], I counted as spoil. That city [they destroyed], they devastated, to mounds and ruins they turned it.

292. From the spoil of the lands which I plundered, 30,000 bows(?) . . . . . shields, I gathered from [among them] and added them ⌜to my royal equipment]. [The rest of the heavy spoil of the foe⌝ [among the whole of my camp], my provincial governors, [and the people of my large cities⌝, I divided [like sheep].

2. THE JÛDÎ DÂGH INSCRIPTION

293. On the rock walls of the Jûdî Dâgh, Sennacherib carved the account of the raid which appears in the final edition of the annals as the fifth campaign (see King, *PSBA*, XXXV, 66 f.).

294. Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Urta (*MASH*), and Ishtar, the great gods, who stand at the side of the king, their favorite, and "make bitter" his arms against all enemies: Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the exalted prince, to whom your (the gods') hands are stretched out,[1] who through your grace advances [triumphantly], bringing in submission at his feet insubmissive lands (*v.*, kings) and unyielding mountain peoples.

295. At that time the cities of Tumurra, Sharim, Halgidda, Kibsha, Esâma, Kûa (and) Kana, which are on the border of Kutmuhu (Commagene) and, like the nest of the eagle, are situated upon the peaks of Mount Nipur; who from days of old, in (the time of) the kings, my fathers, were strong and proud, not knowing the fear of (Assyrian) rule,—in the time of my rule, their gods deserted them and left them empty . . . . . from the sources . . . . . the Tigris, ... to Assyria, ... the Assyrians(?) . . . . they sank in the river . . . . . against them I went.

296. (At) the foot of Mount Nipur I pitched my camp and I . . . . . my choice warriors who fight my battle(s). Mount Nipur for . . . . . I besieged. Gullies, mountain torrents [I surmounted in my (sedan) chair], to the high(est) summits, which . . . . . the stars of heaven . . . . . to . . . . . on my (sedan) chair . . . . . like a wild bull ⌜I went before them⌝. Where it was too steep for my (sedan) chair, I advanced on foot like a young gazelle (ibex). Where my knees gave out, I sat down on (some) mountain bowlder and drank the cold water from the water skin (to quench) my thirst . . . . . those cities I besieged, I conquered (*v. adds*, I carried off their booty, I destroyed), I devastated. . . . . their rebellious

[1] *I.e.*, your *protégé*.

people on (to) the top of Mount Nipur I . . . . their . . . . ; to the mountain tops, I pursued and defeated them. . . . . .

297. A memorial stele I caused to be made, and I had them inscribe (thereon) the might and power of Assur, my lord. On the summit of Mount Nipur where . . . . . ⌜I set it up⌝.

298. ⌜Whoever destroys⌝ the writing of my name, may Assur and the great gods look upon him [in anger] and destroy him.

VI. RECORDS WRITTEN AFTER THE SIXTH CAMPAIGN

299. A bull inscription (1) from the palace at Nineveh, published in IIIR, Plates 12 f., has some very interesting additions to the record of the earlier campaigns, besides giving the fullest account of the sixth.

A shorter bull inscription (2) is published in Smith, *History of Sennacherib*, pp. 3 f., 30 f., 51 f., 67 f., 80 f., 88 f.

300. 1. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world); favorite of the great gods; the wise and crafty one; strong hero, first among all princes; the flame that consumes the insubmissive, who strikes the wicked with the thunderbolt. Assur, the great god, has intrusted to me an unrivaled kingship, and has made powerful my weapons above (all) those who dwell in palaces. From the upper sea of the setting sun to the lower sea of the rising sun, all princes of the four quarters (of the world) he has brought in submission to my feet.

First campaign

301. In my first campaign I accomplished the defeat of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, together with the armies of Elam, his ally, in the plain of Kish. That one fled alone to save his life, and the chariots, wagons, horses and mules which he abandoned, my hands captured. Into his palace in Babylon I entered and I opened his treasure-house,

—gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, property and goods of his palace I took as spoil. His strong, walled cities of Chaldea, together with the small cities of their environs, I captured, I carried off their spoil.

302. On my return I conquered the Arameans who lived along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and carried off their spoil.

303. In the progress of my campaign I received the heavy tribute of the governor of Hararati. The men of Hirimme, wicked enemies, I cut down with the sword. Not one escaped. That city I rebuilt: 1 ox, 10 lambs, 10 *homers* of wine, 20 *homers* of dates, its choicest, (as gifts) for the gods of Assyria, I appointed.

Second campaign

304. In my second campaign I went against the Kassites and the Iasubigallai. In the midst of the mountains I rode on horseback where the terrain was difficult, and where it became too difficult (for this) I clambered up on foot like a wild-ox. Bît-Kilamzah, Hardishpi, Bît-Kubatti, their strong, walled cities, I captured, I carried off their spoil, and the small cities of their environs, which were numberless, I destroyed, I devastated. The houses of the plain, their tents, I burned with fire.

305. I turned back, and that Bît-Kilamzah I made into a stronghold. People of the lands which my hand had conquered, I settled therein, and placed them under (*lit.*, counted them into the hand of) the governor of Arrapha.

306. I turned the front of my yoke and took the road against the Elippi. Before me Ispabâra, their king, forsook his strong cities, and fled to distant parts. Marubishti and Akkuddu, his royal residence cities, together with the cities of their environs, I captured, I carried off their spoil; I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (them) with fire.

307. Sisirtu, Kummahlum, strong cities, together with the small cities of their environs, I captured. The district of Bît-Barrû in its totality I cut off from his land and added it to the territory of Assyria. Elenzash I turned into the stronghold of that district. I changed its name, and called it Kâr-Sin-ahê-eriba. Peoples of the land which my hands had conquered, I settled therein, and placed it under the governor of Harhar.

308. On my return I received the gifts of the distant Medes, the name of whose land the kings, my fathers had not heard, and I made them submit to my yoke.

Third campaign

309. In my third campaign I went against the Hittite-land. Lulî, king of Sidon,—my terrifying splendor overcame him, and from Tyre he fled to Iadnana (Cyprus) in the midst of the sea, and died. Tuba'lu I placed on his royal throne, (and) imposed my kingly tribute upon him.

310. The kings of Amurru, all of them, brought their heavy tribute before me in the neighborhood of the city of Ushû, and Sidkâ, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke,—the gods of his father's house, himself, together with [his] family, I tore up and carried away to Assyria. Sharru-lu-dâri, son of Rukibti, their [former] king, I placed [over the people of] Ashkelon, and imposed my royal tribute upon him.

311. In the course of my campaign I captured his cities, which had not submitted at my feet, I carried off their spoil. The governors and people of Amkaruna (Ekron), who had thrown into iron fetters Padî, their king, who was bound by oath to Assyria, and had given him to Hezekiah, the Jew,—he kept him in confinement,—they became afraid, and appealed (for aid) to the Egyptian kings, the bowmen, the chariots and horses of the king of Meluhha, a countless host.

In the plain of Altakû (Eltekeh) I fought with them, I defeated them. The charioteers and Egyptian princes, together with the charioteers of the king of Meluhha, I captured alive with my (own) hand.

312. I drew near to Amkaruna. The governors who had rebelled (committed sin) I slew with the sword. The citizens who had rebelled (sinned) I counted as spoil. The rest of them, who were guiltless, I pardoned. Padî, their king, I brought out of Jerusalem and placed on the throne over them. My royal tribute I imposed upon him. As for Hezekiah, the Jew, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities and the cities of their environs, which were numberless, I besieged, I captured, I plundered, as booty I counted them. Him, like a caged bird, in Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut up. Earthworks I threw up about it. His cities which I plundered, I cut off from his land and gave to the kings of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Gaza; I diminished his land. To the former tribute, I imposed the payment of yearly gifts by them, as tax, and laid it upon him. That Hezekiah,—the terrifying splendor of my royalty overcame him, and the Arabs and his picked troops whom he had brought into Jerusalem, his royal city, ran away (took leave). With 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver and all kinds of treasure from his palace, he sent his daughters, his palace women, his male and female singers, to Nineveh, and he dispatched his messengers to pay the tribute.

Fourth campaign

313. In my fourth campaign I went against the land of Bît-Iakin. In the course of my campaign, I defeated Shuzubu, the Chaldean, who dwelt in the midst of the marshes, at Bittutu. That one feared my weapons, fled alone, and his (hiding-) place has not been found (seen).

314. The front of my yoke I turned, and took the road to

Bît-Iakin. That Merodach-baladan, whom I defeated in my first campaign, became afraid at the tumult of my mighty arms, and fled to Nagîtu which is in the midst of the sea (Persian Gulf). His brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he abandoned by the seashore, the rest of the people of his land, I carried off as spoil from Bît-Iakin, out of the swamps and marshes.

315. I turned about and destroyed his cities, I burned them with fire. On my return, I placed my son Assur-nâdin-shum on his royal throne, and made (the land) submit to him.

Fifth campaign

316. In my fifth campaign the people of Tumurru, whose abodes are situated on the peaks of Mount Nipur, a difficult mountain, like the nests of the eagle, and who had not submitted to my yoke,—at the foot of Mount Nipur I pitched my camp. With my relentless warriors, I, like a strong wild-ox, led the way. Gullies and difficult mountain torrents I surmounted in my (sedan) chair. Where it was too steep for my chair, I advanced on foot, like a young gazelle. Where my knees weakened and gave out, I sat down upon (some) mountain bowlder and drank cold water from the water skin (to quench) my thirst. To the summits of the mountains I pursued them, and brought about their overthrow. Their cities I captured and I carried off their spoil, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (them) with fire.

317. I turned the front of my yoke. Against Maniae, king of Ukku, who was not submissive, I took the road. Among the unblazed trails and wearisome paths which stretch along these rugged mountains, none of the kings who went before me had traveled before the yoke. At the foot of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, I had my camp pitched, and I, on a house chair, together with my

warriors, with difficulty climbed to the summits of the wearisome mountains. That Maniae heard of the approach of my army (*lit.*, campaign), left Ukku, his royal city, and fled to distant parts. I entered into his palace. All kinds of property and goods, without number, I carried off,—heavy treasure (was his). His cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire, and I overwhelmed them (so that they) were like a mound (left by) the deluge.

Sixth campaign

318. In my sixth campaign against Nagitu (and) Nagitu-di'bina, cities belonging to the king of Elam, which are situated (*lit.*, whose abode is situated) on the other side the Bitter Sea (Persian Gulf), whither the people of Bît-Iakin had scattered before the mighty weapons of Assur,—leaving their towns, and crossing over the Bitter Sea, they landed(?) among them and dwelt in peaceful habitations. Assur, my lord, strengthened me, against them I ordered the march to Nagitu.

319. Hittite people,[1] plunder of my bow, I settled in Nineveh. Mighty ships (after) the workmanship of their land, they built dexterously. Tyrian, Sidonian and Cyprian[2] sailors, captives of my hand, I ordered (to descend) the Tigris with them and come to land at (descend to) the wharves(?) at Opis. From Opis, (where) they drew them up on land, they dragged them on sledges(?) to the Arahtu Canal(?). They launched (*lit.*, threw) them on the Arahtu Canal. [By] the channel(?) of Bît-Nanari(?) of Chaldea, I had them descend. In the city of . . . . . , the bearers(?) of my terrible weapons, who know no fear, my bodyguard of picked foot soldiers, my brave warriors, ⌜who know no rest⌝,—I embarked them in the ships, and provided supplies for the journey, to-

[1] Syrians.

[2] Text, *Iadnanai*, but stone seems to have *Iamanai*. The two are, however, synonymous.

gether with grain and straw for the horses, which I embarked with them. My warriors went down the Euphrates on the ships while I kept to the dry land at their side. I had (them) proceed to Bâb-salimeti. At the lifting of my head, from the bank of the Euphrates, to the shore of the sea, a journey of two double-hours, by land, all finished(?) safely. . . . . And the waves of the sea. . . . . And I, the word of his command did not heed. . . . . In that place I pitched my camp. The mighty waves of the sea ⌜came up⌝ and entered my tent. And they completely surrounded me while in my camp, causing all of my men to remain in the mighty ships as in cages for five days and nights. The ships of my warriors reached the swamps at the mouth of the river, where the Euphrates empties (*lit.*, carries) its waters into the fearful sea. I met them on the shore of the Bitter Sea (the Persian Gulf).

320. To Ea, king of the deep, I offered pure sacrifices, and, together with a ship of gold, I cast into the sea a golden fish and a golden *aluttu*. My ships I speedily brought over to Nagîtu. On the shore of the fearful sea, which for landing and loading horses, and for men to walk upon, was unsuitable, (indeed) exceedingly wearisome, the people of Chaldea, who lived at Nagitu and Nagitu-di'bina, the people of Hilmu, Pillatu and Hupapanu, saw the ships of my warriors and they gathered together bowmen, wagons, horses, mules, a countless host, against them. By the Ulai, a river whose bank was good, the battle line was drawn up. Seizing the place where my armies were to land (*lit.*, the landing-place of my armies), they offered battle.

321. My warriors gained the banks of the levees, against them they swarmed from the ships to the shore, like locusts, and brought about their overthrow. Nagitu, Nagitu-di'bina, Hilmu, Pillatu and Hupapanu, cities belonging to the king of Elam, they captured. Their garrisons, men of Chaldea, all

the gods of Bît-Iakin, together with their goods, and the Elamites, and wagons, mules and asses, they carried off as spoil, loaded them on [their] ships and brought them over to Bâb-salimeti, into my presence. Those cities they destroyed, they devasted and burned with fire. Over the wide land of Elam they poured out terror.

322. From the booty of the lands which [I had conquered], 30,500 bows, 30,500 arrows, I selected from among them, and added to my royal equipment. From the great spoil of enemy-(captives), I apportioned (men) like sheep to all of my camp, to my governors, and to the people of my [large] cities.

323. 2. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), favorite of the great gods (am I). Assur, father of the gods, has looked upon me, among all princes, with (his) sure favor, and above all those who dwell in palaces, has made powerful my weapons.

324. In open battle (in the plain of Kish),[1] I overthrew Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, I deprived him of his kingdom (*lit.*, rulership). All of the Chaldeans, together with the numerous hosts of Elamites, his allies, I cut down with the sword. Assur-nâdin-shum, my first-born son, (the offspring of my loins)[1] I placed on the royal throne and made the wide land of Akkad (Babylonia) submit to him.

325. I uprooted all the Ahlamû and Sutû (Aramean tribes). The men of Hirimme I cut down with the sword and no offspring of theirs escaped. I conquered the Iasubigallai, treacherous enemies, overthrew the Elippi and destroyed their towns.

326. And Lulî, king of Sidon, was afraid to fight me (*lit.*, feared my battle) and fled to Iadnana (Cyprus), which is in the midst of the sea, and (there) sought a refuge. In that land,

[1] So variant text.

in terror of the weapons of Assur, my lord, he died. Tuba'lu I placed on the throne of his kingdom, and imposed upon him my royal tribute.

327. I devastated the wide province of Judah; the strong, proud Hezekiah, its king, I brought in submission to my feet.

328. The people of Tumurru, who dwell on Mount Nipur, a steep mountain, I cut down with the sword. Ukku, together with all of its towns, I destroyed (so that they were) like a mound (left) by the deluge.

329. The people of Hilakku, who dwell in the high mountains, I slaughtered like lambs. Til-garimmu, which is on the border of Tabalu, I captured, I turned it into a ruin. The men of Chaldea, who feared the onset of my battle, gathering together the gods of their whole land in their shrines, they crossed the sea, and settled in Nagitu. I crossed over after them in Hittite (Syrian) ships. Nagiatu, Nagiatu-di'bina. Hilmu, Pillatu and Hupapanu, provinces which are on the other side of the Bitter Sea, I conquered. And the people of Chaldea, together with their gods, the people of the king Elam, I carried off. Not a sinner escaped.

VII. RECORDS WRITTEN AFTER THE EIGHTH CAMPAIGN

330. Besides the final edition of the annals given above (§§ 233 f.), there are three other inscriptions which give a résumé of one or more of Sennacherib's eight campaigns: (1) the Bavian Inscription, published in IIIR, Plate 14; (2) the inscription on a slab from Nebî Yunus, published in IR, Plates 43 f.; (3) the inscription on a broken alabaster slab, published in *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, I, No. 77. To these must be added (4) the text Sennacherib had inscribed on a seal of Tukulti-Urta, republished by King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, pp. 163 f.

1. THE BAVIAN INSCRIPTION

331. Assur, Anu, Enlil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Marduk, Nabû, [Nusku], Ishtar, Sibi (the Seven), the great gods, who

in all lands attend (*lit.*, raise the eye) to the rule of the black-headed (race of men), (who) named (me) ruler; Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), the prince who endows (their cults):—in their enduring grace, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, I have marched in safety, and the princes of the four quarters (of the world) I have brought in submission to my feet, so that they drew my yoke.

332. At that time I greatly enlarged the site (*lit.*, abode) of Nineveh. Its wall, and the outer wall thereof, which had not existed before, I built anew, and raised it mountain high. Its fields, which through lack of water had fallen into neglect (*lit.*, ruin), and came to look like pitch(?), so that its people did not have (*lit.*, know) any water for watering, but turned their eyes heavenward for showers of rain,—(these fields) I watered, and from the villages of Masiti, Banbakabna, Shapparishu, Kâr-Shamash-nâsir, Kâr-nûri, Rimusa, Hatâ, Dalain, Rêsh-êni, Sulu, Dûr-[Ishtar], Shibaniba, Isparirra, Gingilinish, Nampagâte, Tillu, Alumsusi, the waters which were above the town of Hadabiti, (through) eighteen canals which I dug, I brought (*lit.*, directed their course) into the Husur (Khosr) River. From the border of the town of Kisiri to the midst of Nineveh, I dug a canal, and brought down those waters therein. Sennacherib Channel, I called its name. And the surplus of those waters I led out through the midst of Mount Tas, a difficult mountain, on the border of Akkad. Formerly they called that canal . . . . . Now, I, at the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, directed into it (the canal mentioned) the waters from the right and left of the mountain in whose sides are the . . . . of Me—, Kuk— (and) Biturra, towns of the neighborhood: with stone I walled that canal, and called its name Sennacherib [Channel]. In addition to the waters from springs, and the waters which

I had earlier secured by digging (canals), [of these waters] I directed the course to Nineveh, the great metropolis, my royal abode, whose site since days of old, the kings, my fathers, had not enlarged, and whose adornment they had not undertaken.

333. At this time, I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, first among all princes, who from the rising sun to the setting sun, ... (with) waters from the canals which I had caused to be dug, [supplied] Nineveh, together with its neighborhood. Gardens, vineyards, all kinds of . . . . . products of all the mountains, the fruits of all lands, ... I planted(?), letting out the waters where they did not reach the thirsty (field), [and reviving] its vegetation, damaged(? by drought) . . . . of all the orchards, at the entrance . . . . . above (the city) and below(?) . . . . from the midst of the town of Tarbisi to Nineveh, providing, for all time, water for the planting of grain and sesame. . . . . .

334. . . . Among the kings, my sons, whoever reflects (communes with his heart) and cannot bring himself to believe that with these few people I had dug the canal:—by Assur, my great lord, I take oath. If with these men I did not dig the canal, and in a year (and) three months did not complete its construction, then (its construction) was not finished nor its excavation brought to completion.

335. To dedicate (open) that canal I sent (directed) an *ashipu* and a *kalû* priest, ... *sandu*-stone (carnelian), lapis lazuli, *mushgarru*, *hulalu*, *UD-ASH*-stones, precious stones, a *balgi*-fish, and a *suhur*-fish, the likeness . . . . . of gold, herbs, choice oil, to Ea, lord of the springs, fountains and the plain(?), (and) Enbilulu, lord of rivers, the lords who answer my prayers(?), I presented as gifts. I prayed to the great gods, and they heard my prayers, and prospered the work of my hands. A canal gate (sluice gate) [I built] and the sluice valve opened by itself and supplied the water of

abundance;—through the work of man's hands the sluice was not opened. . . . .

336. For the heart's comfort(?) of the gods I dug water (courses). After I had planned the canal and directed its construction, to the great gods, who go at my side, and who establish prosperity, sleek oxen and fat sheep I offered as pure sacrifices.

337. Those men who dug that canal I clothed with linen (and) brightly colored (woolen) garments. Golden rings, daggers of gold, I put upon them.

338. In the same year with the opening (*lit.*, flowing) of that canal which I dug, against Umman-menanu, king of Elam, and the king of Babylon, together with many kings of mountain and sea, who were their allies, in the plain of the city of Halulê I drew up the battle line. At the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, like a swift javelin I went into their midst and accomplished the defeat of their armies. Their hosts I shattered, I broke up their organization. The chieftains of the king of Elam, together with Nabû-shum-ishkun, son of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, my hands took alive in that battle. As for the king of Elam and the king of Babylonia, the dread of my terrible onslaught overcame them, they forsook their chariots, and they fled from their lands to save their lives. And they did not come back. Thereupon Sennacherib became violently angry and, as he ordered (his army) to turn toward Elam, fear and terror were poured out over all of Elam. They left their land and, to save their lives, like the eagle betook themselves to the inaccessible mountain(s), and, like unto birds that one pursues, their hearts were rent. To the day of their death they did not come out (*lit.*, open any way) nor did they make war.

339. In a second campaign of mine I advanced swiftly against Babylon, upon whose conquest I had determined.

Like the on-coming of a storm I broke loose, and overwhelmed it like a hurricane.

340. I completely invested that city, with mines and engines my hands [took the city]. The plunder . . . . . his powerful . . . . . whether small or great, I left none. With their corpses I filled the city squares (wide places). Shuzubu, king of Babylonia, together with his family and his [nobles], I carried off alive into my land. The wealth of that city,—silver, gold, precious stones, property and goods, I doled out (counted into the hands of) to my people and they made it their own. The gods dwelling therein,—the hands of my people took them, and they smashed them. Their property and goods they seized.

341. Adad and Shala, the gods of the city of Ekallâte, whom Marduk-nâdin-ahê, king of Babylon, in the reign of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, had seized and carried off to Babylon, after 418 years I brought them to their place in ⌜Ekallâte⌝. The city and (its) houses, from its foundation to its top, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The wall and outer wall, temples and gods, temple towers of brick and earth, as many as there were, I razed and dumped them into the Arahtu Canal. Through the midst of that city I dug canals, I flooded its site (*lit.*, ground) with water, and the very foundations thereof (*lit.*, the structure of its foundation) I destroyed. I made its destruction more complete than that by a flood. That in days to come the site of that city, and (its) temples and gods, might not be remembered, I completely blotted it out with (floods) of water and made it like a meadow.

342. At the mouth of the canal which I dug through the midst of the mountain of Tas, I fashioned six great steles[1] with the images of the great gods, my lords, upon them, and

[1] These are, of course, the rock surfaces at Bavian on which this text was inscribed.

my royal image, with face averted (in prayer), I set up before them. Every deed of my hands, which I wrought for the good of Nineveh, I had engraved thereon, to be a memorial(?) to the kings, my sons.

343. If ever there is a future prince among the kings, my sons, who destroys the work which I have done, (and) breaks the covenant I have (hereby) made with him, diverts the course of the waters of those canals from the plain of Nineveh, may the great gods, all whose names are named in these steles, by the word of their mouth, a holy decree which cannot fail, curse him with an evil curse, and overthrow his rule.

2. THE NEBÎ YUNUS SLAB INSCRIPTION

Introduction (ll. 1–6)

344. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world); favorite of the great gods; wise sovereign, provident prince, shepherd of peoples, ruler of widespreading nations, am I. Assur, father of the gods, regarded me with his sure favor above (*lit.*, among) all princes, and made my arms great above all (those) who dwell in palaces; a righteous scepter, which enlarges the border, an unsparing lance for the overthrow of my enemies, he put into my hand.

First campaign (ll. 6–12)

345. In open battle (*lit.*, a battle of the plain), like a hurricane (deluge) I cast down Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, the Chaldeans and Arameans, together with the armies of Elam, his ally. That one fled alone to the sea-land and the gods of his whole land, with the bones of his fathers, (who lived) before (him), (which) he gathered from their coffins, and his people, he loaded on ships and crossed over to Nagitu, which is on the other side of the Bitter Sea (Persian Gulf); and in that place he died. The whole of his land I conquered

and counted as booty. His cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

Second campaign (ll. 12–13)

346 I conquered Hirimmu and the land of the Iasubigallai; the land of the Elippi I overthrew, and I destroyed its towns.

Third campaign (ll. 13–15)

347. I deprived Lulî, king of Sidon, of his kingdom. Tuba'lu I set on his throne and imposed my royal tribute upon him. I overthrew the wide province of Judah. On Hezekiah, its king, I laid my yoke.

Fifth campaign (ll. 16–17)

348. The people of Tumur, who live in the steep mountains, I cut them down with the sword. Ukku with all of its towns, I destroyed (so that they were) like ruins (left by) the flood.

Campaigns against Cilicia and Til-garimmu by Sennacherib's generals (ll. 17–19)

349. The people of Hilakku, who live in the mountains, I slew with the sword; their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Til-garimmu, which is on the border of Tabalu, I captured and turned into ruins.

Sixth campaign (ll. 19–26)

350. Nagitu, Nagitu-di'bina, Hilmu, Pillatu, Hupapânu, the provinces of the king of Elam which lie on the other side of the sea, where the people of Bît-Iakin, gathering the gods of their lands in their shrines before my mighty arms, and crossing the sea, had settled,—in Hittite ships, which I built in Nineveh and Til-barsip, I crossed the sea. The cities of those provinces I captured and burned with fire. The people of Bît-Iakin, and their gods, together with the men of the king of Elam, I carried off and brought them to Assyria.

Seventh campaign (ll. 27–44)

351. Afterward, the Babylonians who had gone out with Merodach-baladan and had fled to Elam, (and) the king of Elam, came to Babylon, and he (the Elamite king) placed Shuzubu, son of Gahul, on the royal throne over them. Soldiers, chariots, horses, my royal host, against the king of Elam I sent. Many of his host, together with his son, they slew, and he turned back. But they marched on to Erech. Shamash of Larsa, Bêlit of Eridu(?), Bêlit of Erech, Nanâ, Usuramatsa, Bêlit-balâti ("Goddess of Life"), Kurunnam, Kashshitu, Nergal, the gods dwelling in Erech, as well as their property and their goods,—there was no numbering it, they carried off as spoil. On their return (march) they (*lit.*, their hands) seized Shuzubu, king of Babylon, alive in open battle. They threw him fettered into a cage and brought him before me. I tied him up in the middle city gate of Nineveh, like a pig. The king of Elam, who had come to aid the Babylonians,—against his land I marched. The strong cities, his treasure cities, and the small cities of their environs, as far as the pass of (*or*, entrance to) Bît-Bunakki, I besieged, I captured, I carried off their spoil. I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (them) with fire. The king of Elam heard of the capture of his cities and terror fell upon him. The remnant of the people of his land he brought up into strongholds, while he (himself) forsook Madaktu, his royal city, and turned his face toward Haidala, which is in the midst of the mountains. To Madaktu, his royal city, I ordered the march. *Tebitu* (the tenth Babylonian month) (with) severe weather (cold) set in, uninterrupted rains came on, and snow. I was afraid of the swollen mountain streams and turned back and took the road to Assyria.

Eighth campaign (ll. 44–55)

352. Thereupon the king of Elam gathered to himself a large body of confederates,—(the men) of Parsuash, Anzan,

Pashiru, Ellipi, the whole of Chaldea, and all the Arameans. These, with the king of Babylon, drew near *en masse*, and set upon me, offering battle. (Trusting) in the might of Assur, my lord, I fought with them in the plain of the city of Halulê, I defeated them, cutting down with the sword 150,000 of their warriors. Their chariots, wagons and royal tents I took from them. Their nobles, as well as Nabû-shum-ishkun, son of Merodach-baladan, ⌜who stood(?)⌝ on silver chariots, were bedecked with golden daggers, had their fingers covered (*lit.*, bound) with golden rings, I (*lit.*, my hands) captured alive in battle. As for the king of Babylon and the king of Elam, the chilling terror of my battle overcame them, they let their dung go into their chariots, they ran off alone, they fled from their land.

3. INSCRIPTION ON AN ALABASTER SLAB IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM

End of sixth campaign (ll. 1–2)

353. [The people of Bît-Iakin and their gods together with the men[1] of the [king of Elam I carried off and brought them to Assyria.]

Seventh campaign (ll. 3–24)

354. Afterward [the Babylonians who had] . . . . . with Merodach-baladan . . . . . before my mighty weapons had run away and . . . . . had gone forth and fled to Elam. . . . . these and the Elamite came to Babylon, and he (the Elamite king) placed [Shuzubu] on the royal throne over them. [Soldiers, chariots], horses, my royal host, [against the king of Elam I sent]. Many of his host, together with his son, they slew. [But I turned back while] they marched on to Erech. Shamash of Larsa, ... [the gods] dwelling therein (*i.e.*, in Erech) together with their property and their goods,—there was no numbering it, they carried off as spoil. On their return (march), Shuzubu, [king of Baby-

lon], they captured alive [in open battle] and [brought him] before me. I tied him up in the gate in the middle of the city of Nineveh like a pig.

355. [The king of Elam who had come to the aid[1] of the Babylonians,—[against his land I marched. The strong cities[1], his treasure cities and the small cities [of their environs, as far as] the pass of (*or*, entrance to) Bît-Bunakki, I besieged, I captured, [I carried off their spoil. I destroyed[1], I devastated, I burned (them) with fire. [The king of Elam heard of the capture of his cities[1] and terror fell upon him. The remnant of the people of his land [he brought up into strongholds], while he himself forsook Madaktu, his royal city and turned his face [to Haidala, which is in the midst[1] of the mountains. [To Madaktu, his royal city[1], I ordered the march. *Tebitu*, with severe weather set in . . . . [I was afraid[1] [of the swollen mountain streams] and turned back and took the road to Assyria.

Eighth campaign (*ll. 25–Rev. 21*)

356. . . . . of his province upon mounds, ... , ... the rest of the people of his land [who had fled] before my weapons, . . . he(?) brought down and settled in the forests(?). . . . . the people of his land, I captured and counted as spoil. . . . I burned with fire. The Babylonians . . . . gathered together and submitted to him. . . . . I ordered to march to Shuanna (Babylon). . . . . with lamentations. Fear fell upon them. The treasury of Esagila they opened. Gold, silver, precious stones to the king of Elam [as a gift (bribe) they sent. Their messenger] they dispatched with the message: "To Babylon [hasten, come to our aid, (side)] for thou art our trust." That Elamite king [whom in the course of my former campaign] I had defeated, had carried off his spoil, had destroyed his cities, [had devastated and burned them with fire[1], who hadn't any sense, ... received

the gifts (bribes) of the Babylonians . . . . . did not tell them what to do(?) . . . . his army and camp he gathered and Parsuash, Anzan, Pashiru . . . . . all the Arameans, an enormous host of confederates, [he called to his side. Babylon] and the Babylonians, Borsippa and the men of Borsippa . . . . to make battle they came on against me.

357. [In the might of Assur, my lord, in] the plain of ⌜Halulê⌝, ⌜I fought with them, I defeated them], 150,000 of ⌜their warriors I cut down with the sword. Their chariots,] wagons, and royal tents I took from them. [Their nobles, as well as Nabû-shum-ishkun], son of Merodach-baladan, ⌜who stood(?) on silver chariots], were bedecked with golden ornaments, wore golden daggers, had their fingers covered [with golden rings], these, alive, in the [midst of the battle of my hand captured]. The king of Babylon and the king of Elam, [—the chilling terror of my battle overcame them] and they let their dung go into their chariots. They ran off alone and fled from their land.

Campaign, by one of Sennacherib's generals(?), *toward the end of the reign* (*ll. 22–27*)

358. [. . . . . Telhunu], queen of the Arabs, in the midst of the desert, ... x thousand camels I took from her hand. She, with Hazael, ... the terror of my battle overcame them, they left their tents, . . . to the . . . of the city of Adummatu they fled for their lives. . . . . and ⌜Adummatu⌝, which are situated in the desert, ... of thirst, wherein there are no feeding nor drinking places. . . . . .

4. THE SEAL OF TUKULTI-URTA

359. (*Obv.*) Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. Booty of Babylonia (Kardu, *for* Karduniash). Who blots out my inscribed name, may Assur and Adad destroy his name and his land.

This seal found some hidden way from Assyria to hostile Akkad. I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, after 600 years, took Babylon, and from the wealth (booty) of Babylon, I selected it.

360. (*Edge*) Property of Shagarakti-Shuriash, king of the universe.

361. (*Rev.*) Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. Booty of Babylonia (Kardunishi). Who blots out my written name, may Assur and Adad destroy his name and his land. Property of Shagarakti-Shuriash, king of the universe. What was on a seal cylinder of lapis lazuli.

CHAPTER VI

SENNACHERIB; THE BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE "PALACE WITHOUT A RIVAL"

362. Below are given the various accounts of Sennacherib's work on the great palace at Nineveh as they appear on the succession of cylinders and prisms which were inscribed from year to year and whose historical sections we have grouped together in the preceding chapter.

1. EARLIEST RECORD, WRITTEN AFTER THE FIRST CAMPAIGN[1]

363. At that time, Nineveh, the noble metropolis, the city beloved of Ishtar, wherein are all the meeting places of gods and goddesses; the everlasting structure, the eternal foundation, whose plan had been designed from of old, along with the writing of the constellations, and whose structure had been made beautiful; the beautiful (artistic) place, the abode of divine law (decision, rule), into which had been brought all kinds of artistic workmanship, every secret and pleasant(?) plan (*or*, command, of god); where from of old, the kings, who went before, my fathers, had exercised the lordship over Assyria before me, and had ruled the subjects of Enlil, and yearly without interruption, had received therein an unceasing income, the tribute of the princes of the four quarters (of the world): not one among them had given his thoughtful attention to, nor had his heart considered, the palace therein, the place of the royal abode, whose site had become too small; (nor) had he turned his thought (*lit.*, ear), nor brought his mind (*lit.*, liver) to lay out the streets of the city, to widen the squares, to dig a canal, to set out trees (plantations).

364. But I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, gave my

[1] Cf. §§ 255 f.

thought and brought my mind to accomplish this work according to the command (will) of the gods. The people of Chaldea, the Arameans, the Manneans, (the people) of the lands of Kue and Hilakku, who had not submitted to my yoke, I deported (from their lands), made them carry the headpad and mold bricks. I cut down the reed marshes which are in Chaldea, and had the men of the foe whom my hands had conquered drag their mighty reeds (to Assyria) for the completion of its work.

365. The former palace, which was 30 *GAR* (360 cubits) on the side and 10 *GAR* (120 cubits) on its front, which the kings, who went before, my fathers, had built, whose structure they had not, however, made artistic, up to whose side the Tebiltu River had come from days of old, worked havoc with its foundation and destroyed its platform,—that small palace I tore down in its totality. The course (*i.e.*, the channel) of the Tebiltu I improved and directed its outflow.

366. In a propitious month, on a favorable day, in its (the river's) hidden bed, (for a space of) 60 (*GAR*) on the side, and 34 (*GAR*) on the front, I covered over great mountain bowlders, and made a field rise up from the water, and made it like unto the dry land. Lest in the passing of days its platform should give way before the (floods of) high water, I set up great slabs of limestone around its walls, and strengthened its structure (*lit.*, heaping,—of earth); over these (slabs) I filled in the terrace to a height of 170 *tipku*,—I added to the site (*lit.*, measurement) of the former palace, and widened its bulwarks(?). Thereon (*lit.*, therein) I had them build a palace of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry (*musukannu*), cedar, cypress, spruce and pistachio, the "Palace without a Rival," for my royal abode. Beams of cedar, the product of Mount Amanus, which they dragged with difficulty out of (those) distant mountains, I stretched across their ceilings(?). Great door-leaves of cypress, whose odor is pleasant as they

are opened and closed, I bound with a band of shining copper and set them up in their doors. A portico, patterned after a Hittite (Syrian) palace, which they call in the Amorite tongue a *bît-hilâni*, I constructed inside them (the doors), for my lordly pleasure.

367. Eight lions, open at the knee, advancing, constructed out of 11,400 talents of shining bronze, of the workmanship of the god Nin-a-gal, and full of splendor, together with two colossal pillars whose copper work came to 6,000 talents, and two great cedar pillars, (which) I placed upon the lions (colossi), I set up as posts to support their doors. Four mountain sheep, as protecting deities, of silver and copper, together with mountain sheep, as protecting deities, of great blocks of mountain stone, I fashioned cunningly, and setting them toward the four winds (directions), I adorned their entrances. Great slabs of limestone, the enemy tribes, whom my hands had conquered, dragged through them (the doors), and I had them set up around their walls,—I made them objects of astonishment.

368. A great park, like unto Mount Amanus, wherein were set out all kinds of herbs and fruit trees,—trees, such as grow on the mountains and in Chaldea, I planted by its (the palace's) side. That (they might) plant orchards, I subdivided some land in the plain above the city, into plots of 3 *PI* each, for the citizens of Nineveh, and gave it to them.

369. To increase the vegetation, from the border of the town of Kisiri to the plain about Nineveh, through mountain and lowland, with iron pickaxes I cut and directed a canal. For (a distance of) ⌜1½ *bêru* ("double-hours") of land⌝, the waters of the Husur (Khosr), which from of old sought too low a level (*lit.*, place), I made to flow through those orchards in irrigation ditches.

370. After I had brought to an end the work on my royal palace, had widened the squares, made bright the avenues

and streets and caused them to shine like the day, I invited Assur, the great lord, the gods and goddesses who dwell in Assyria, into its midst. I offered sacrifices in great numbers and presented my gifts.

371. In the days to come, whoever among the kings, my sons, whose name Assur calls to rule over land and people, when that palace shall become old and fall to ruins, let him restore its ruins, look upon the memorial stele with my name inscribed upon it, anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, and return it to its place. Then Assur will hear his prayers.

Ninety-four is the number of the lines (of the inscription).

2. RECORD ON THE BELLINO CYLINDER[1]

372. As for the former palace which (measured) 360 cubits on the side toward the inclosure of the temple tower, (was) 80 cubits wide on the side toward the *bît-namari* of the temple of Ishtar, and 134 cubits wide on the side toward the *bît-namari* of the Kidmuri temple, and 95 cubits wide (on the fourth side), which the kings who went before me, my fathers, had built for their royal dwelling, but had not beautified its workmanship,—the Tebiltu River, a raging, destructive stream, which, at its high water, had destroyed the mausoleums inside the city and had exposed to the sun their tiers of coffins (*lit.*, piled-up coffins), and, from days of old, had come up close to the palace and with its floods at high water had worked havoc with its foundation and destroyed its platform: —that small palace I tore down in its totality. I changed the course of the Tebiltu, repaired the damage, and directed its outflow through its covered channel (bed). Below, reeds, above, mighty blocks of mountain stone, I covered with asphalt, and raised up a field out of the waters and turned it into dry land.

373. (On a plot of ground) 700 great cubits on the side,

[1] See § 268.

162 great cubits on its upper, north front, 217 great cubits on its inner front, 386 great cubits on its lower, south front, along the Tigris, I filled in a terrace, and made a careful survey of it (*lit.*, surveyed its survey). That in days to come its platform might not be weakened by the floods at high water, I had its sides (*lit.*, walls) surrounded with mighty slabs of limestone, and (so) I strengthened its structure.

374. A memorial with my name inscribed I wrote (and buried it) 160 *tipku* deep in the terrace, and left it deep down in the foundation for the days to come.

375. Later my heart urged me to make the terrace higher, so I added 20 *tipku* to the former altitude and made it 180 *tipku* high. I enlarged the area (thereof; *lit.*, the width) and added to the size (*lit.*, measurement) of the former palace, and enlarged its structure. Thereon (*lit.*, therein) I built a palace of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry (*musukannu*), cedar, cypress, and spruce, the "Palace without a Rival," for my royal abode.

376. A great park, like unto Mount Amanus, wherein were set out all kinds of herbs and fruit trees, such as grow in the mountains and in Chaldea, I planted by its side.

377. That (they might) plant orchards, I subdivided some land in the plain above the city into plots, of 2 (*v.*, 4) *PI* each, for the citizens of Nineveh, and gave it to them.

To increase the vegetation, from the border of the city of Kisiri to the plain about Nineveh, through mountain and lowland, with iron pickaxes I cut and directed a canal. For (a distance) of 1½ *bêru* ("double-hours") of land, the waters of the Husur (Khosr), which from of old sought too low a level (*lit.*, place), I made to flow through those orchards in irrigation ditches.

378. I increased the size (site) of Nineveh, my royal city, I widened its squares, made bright the avenues and streets and caused them to shine like the day.

(*Here follows the blessing on the future prince who restores the palace, as in the preceding text.*)

3. RECORD ON THE RASSAM CYLINDER

379. The building record on the Rassam Cylinder written 700 B.C. (§ 283), and duplicates, is the same as the foregoing (Bellino), with the exception of the two paragraphs given below. The first is a variant of § 373; the second is an addition at the end of the inscription.

380. (On a plot of ground) 700 great cubits on the side, 176 great cubits on its upper, north front, 268 great cubits on its inner front opposite the inclosure of the building back of Ishtar's (temple?); 383 great cubits on the second inner front, facing west (*lit.*, west-wind), back of the temple tower of Ishtar's temple; 386 great cubits on the lower, south front, along the Tigris, I filled in a terrace and made a careful survey of it.

381. Opposite the gate within the city, I made my royal road pass over a bridge (built) of burnt brick and white limestone. I fashioned a memorial, had engraved thereon (*lit.*, therein) the might and power which, with the help of Assur, the great lord, my lord, I wielded (established) over all enemies, together with every work which I had accomplished, and left it for all time to come in the foundation platform of my royal palace.

4. ACCOUNT WRITTEN AFTER THE FIFTH CAMPAIGN[1]

382. At that time Nineveh, the noble metropolis, the city beloved of Ishtar, wherein are all the meeting places of gods and goddesses; the everlasting substructure, the eternal foundation, whose plan had been designed from of old, along with the writing of the constellations, and whose structure had been made beautiful; the beautiful (artistic) place, the abode of divine law, into which had been brought all kinds of artistic workmanship, every secret and pleasant

[1] See § 285.

plan; where from of old, kings who went before, my fathers, had exercised the lordship over Assyria before me, and had ruled the subjects of Enlil; but not one among them had turned his thoughts (*lit.*, ear) nor brought his mind to widen the city's area (*lit.*, abode), to build a wall, to lay out streets, or to dig a canal (and) to set out trees,—nor to the palace therein, the royal abode and dwelling-place, whose area was too small, whose construction was not artistic, had he given his energy nor his heart's thoughts; but I, Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, gave my thought and brought my mind to accomplish this work according to the command (will) of the gods.

383. The people of Chaldea, the Arameans, the Manneans, (the people of) the lands of Kue and Hilakku, (of) Philistia and Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, I deported (from their lands), made them carry the headpad and mold bricks.

384. The former palace, whose dimensions were 360 cubits on the side and 95 cubits on the front, and whose site had become too small; (the palace) which the kings who went before, my fathers, had built as an abode of royalty, but had not made its structure artistic:—bull-colossi of white limestone, they[1] quarried in (near) the town of Tastiate, which lies across the Tigris, as supports for their (the new palaces') doors. For the construction of boats (rafts) they felled mighty trees in the forests throughout the whole of their land. In *Airu*, at the regular time of the spring floods, they laboriously brought them over to this side on the mighty rafts. As they crossed the quay-wall, the large boats went down. Their crews strained and injured their bodies, but by might and main, with difficulty, they landed them (*lit.*, brought) and placed them by their doors.

385. The Tebiltu, a raging stream, which from days of

[1] The captives mentioned above.

old had come up close to the palace, and with its great floods at high water worked havoc with its foundation and destroyed its platform:—that small palace I tore down in its totality; the course of the Tebiltu I turned aside from the city's midst, and directed its outflow into the plain back of the city. Into (the space) of half a *gan* of the water's course, (I placed) four great blocks (piers) of limestone and covered (them) with bitumen; reeds of the cane-brake and rushes I spread over them.

386. (A piece of) land, 340 cubits on the side, 289 cubits on the front, out (of the bed) of the Husur (Khosr) River, and the plain (about) the city, I measured (*lit.*, seized) off according to plan. To the plot (*lit.*, survey) of the former palace terrace I added it, and raised the whole of it to the height of 190 *tipki.*

387. Lest in the passing of days the platform of that terrace should give way before the (floods) of high water, I built the facing wall around it of great blocks of limestone, and strengthened its structure (*lit.*, upheaping).

388. To 700 large cubits on the side and 440 large cubits on the front, I brought the size of the palace, and enlarged its site. A palace of gold, silver, copper, carnelian(?), breccia, alabaster, ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry (*musukanni*), cedar, cypress, spruce, *elammaku*-wood, *sindu*-wood, for my royal dwelling I built and portals ("door-houses"), patterned after a Hittite (Syrian) palace I had constructed in front of the doors. With (beams) of cedar and cypress, whose scent is pleasant, products of Amanus and Sirara, the snow-capped (*lit.*, shining) mountains, I roofed them. Door-leaves of cedar, cypress, pine and *sindu*-wood, I bound with a band of silver and copper and set up in their doors. In the room within the building, I arranged (*lit.*, opened) chambers, and opened corridors(?).

389. Female colossi of marble and ivory, wearing horned

headdresses(?), their fore legs (*lit.*, hands) kneeling, clothed with strength and vigor, full of splendor, I set up by their doors and made them a wonder to behold. The dark color of the roofing timbers in the chambers, I brightened (painted?) and made them shine like the day. Clothes-hooks (pegs) of silver and copper I put up around their interior. With burnt brick, *KA*-stone, and lapis lazuli, I adorned the walls, cornices and all of their copings.

390. That I might accomplish the construction of my palace, and bring to an end the work of my hands, at that time, Assur and Ishtar, who love my priesthood, and have called me by name, showed me how to bring out the mighty cedar logs which had grown large in the days gone by, and had become enormously tall as they stood concealed in the mountains of Sirara. Alabaster (marble) which in the days of the kings, my fathers, was precious enough for (inlaying) the hilt of a sword, they disclosed to me in the darkness of Mount Ammanana (anti-Lebanon). And breccia for all kinds of great jars, such as had never been seen before, in (by) the city of Kapridargilâ, which is on the border of Til-Barsip, disclosed itself. Near Nineveh, in the land of Balatai, by decree of the god, white limestone was found (appeared) in abundance; and bull-colossi and sculptured statues of alabaster, which were carved out of one stone, of enormous proportions, towering high upon their own bases; alabaster cow-colossi, whose appearance was splendid, whose bodies shone like the bright day; great slabs of breccia I fashioned and cut free on both sides, in their mountain, and had them dragged to Nineveh for the construction of my palace. The bull and cow-colossi of white limestone, with Ninkurra's help, I had fashioned ("caused to be begotten"), in the land of Balatai, and made complete as to their members.

391. In times past, when the kings, my fathers, fashioned a bronze image in the likeness of their members, to set up in

their temples, the labor on them exhausted every workman; in their ignorance and lack of knowledge, they drank oil, and wore sheepskins to carry on the work they wanted to do in the midst of their mountains. But I, Sennacherib, first among all princes, wise in all craftsmanship,—great pillars of bronze, colossal lions, open at the knees, which no king before my time had fashioned, through the clever understanding which the noble Nin-igi-kug had given me, (and) in my own wisdom, I pondered deeply the matter of carrying out that task. Following the advice of my head (will) and the prompting of my heart, I fashioned a work of bronze and cunningly wrought it. Over great posts and crossbars of wood, 12 fierce lion-colossi together with 12 mighty bull-colossi, complete in form, 22 cow-colossi, clothed with exuberant strength and with abundance and splendor heaped upon them,—at the command of the god, I built a form of clay and poured bronze into it, as in making half-shekel pieces, and finished their construction.

392. Bull-colossi, made of bronze, two of which were coated with enamel (? gilding), bull-colossi of alabaster, together with cow-colossi of white limestone, I placed at the thresholds of my palaces. High pillars of bronze, together with tall pillars of cedars, the product of Mount Amanus, I inclosed in a sheathing of bronze and lead, placed them upon lion-colossi, and set them up as posts to support their doorways. Upon the alabaster cow-colossi, as well as the cow-colossi made of bronze, which were coated with enamel (?) and the cow-colossi made of *GU-AN-NA*, whose forms were brilliant, I placed pillars of ebony, cypress, cedar, *dupranu*-wood, spruce and *sindu*-wood, with inlay of *pasalli* and silver, and set them up as columns in the rooms of my royal abode. Slabs of breccia and alabaster, and great slabs of limestone, I placed around their walls; I made them wonderful to behold.

393. That daily there might be abundant flow of water of the buckets, I had copper cables(?) and pails made, and in place of the (mud-brick) pedestals (pillars) I set up great posts and crossbeams over the wells.

394. Those palaces, all around the (large) palace, I beautified; to the astonishment of all nations I raised aloft its head. The "Palace without a Rival," I called its name.

395. A great park, like unto Mount Amanus, wherein all kinds of herbs and fruit trees, trees, such as grow on the mountains and in Chaldea, as well as trees bearing wool, were set out, I planted by its (the palace's) side.

396. Nineveh, whose site in former days measured 9,300 cubits in circumference, (for which) the princes who lived before me had built neither wall nor outer wall; 12,515 (cubits) of the land of the plain around the city I added to its earlier site (*lit.*, survey). 21,815 great cubits I made its circumference. I laid the platform of its great (inner) wall, *Bad-nigalbi-kurra-shushu* ("The Wall Whose Splendor Overwhelms the Foe"), upon a limestone (foundation) I made it 40 bricks thick, and raised its top (head) to 180 *tipki.*

397. Toward the four winds (directions) 15 gates, front, back and on either side, for entrance and egress, I had opened through it. "May Assur's Viceroy Prevail," the gate of Assur of the city of Assur; "Overthrowing All Foes," the gate of Sennacherib, toward (*lit.*, of) the land of Halzi; "Enlil, Establisher of My Rule," the gate of Shamash, toward the land of Gagal; "Sennacherib's Rule Establish Thou (*fem.*) in the Station of the Lance," the gate of Nin-lil, toward the city of Kar-Ninlil; "Providing Egress for the Sick," the *Mushlal*-gate; "The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Ever Within It," the gate toward the city Shibaniba; "Bringing the Products of the Mountains," the gate toward the land of Halahhi; total: 7 gates toward the sunrise, facing the south and the east. (So) I called their names. "Adad, Bestower of Abund-

ance to the Land," the gate of Adad toward (the land of) Ambasi; "Urra, Destroyer of My Enemies," the gate of Nergal, toward the city of Tarbis; "Nannar, Guardian of My Royal Diadem," the gate of Sin; total: 3 gates, facing north. (Thus) I called their names. "Ea, Who Causes My Springs to Flow," the gate of the watering-places; "Furnishing an Entrance in Front of the Residences," the quay gate; "The Gifts of the Sumu'anite, and the Têmite Enter through It," the desert gate; "Protector of All," the gate of the armory; "Shar-ur, Overthrower of the Foe of the King," the *Handûri*-gate; total: 5 gates, facing west. (Thus) I named them.[1]

398. I opened up trenches for the outer wall, *Bad-nigerim-huluhha* ("That Terrifies the Enemy"). I dug down 45 *GAR* and reached the waters under the earth. In the midst of those nether waters I laid (*lit.*, fastened) great blocks of mountain stone, and above, up to its coping, I carefully built it (the wall) of great limestone blocks.

399. The area of Nineveh, my royal city, I enlarged. I widened its squares, and made it shine like the day. The outer wall I built and made it mountain high. Above the city and below the city I laid out parks. The wealth of mountains and all lands, all the herbs of the land of Hatti (Syria), myrrh plants, among which fruitfulness was greater than in their (natural) habitat, all kinds of mountain vines, all the fruits of (all) lands (settlements), herbs and fruit-bearing trees I set out for my subjects.

400. The river Husur (Khosr), whose waters from of old took a low level and none among the kings my fathers had dammed (confined) them as they poured into the Tigris;—to increase the productiveness of the cultivable (*lit.*, low-lying) fields, from the border of the city of Kisiri, through the high and low (ground) I dug with pickaxes, I ran a canal

[1] For variant names of these gates see the author's *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 111 *n.*

(channel); those waters I brought across the plain (around) Nineveh, and made them flow through the orchards in irrigation ditches.

401. To Bît-rêmâme, which is at the foot of Mount Musri, I took the road and climbed up and with great difficulty came to the city of Elmunakinnê. At the head of the cities of Dûr-Ishtar, Shibaniba and Suli, I saw (found) pools and enlarged their narrow springs and turned them into a reservoir. To (give) these waters a course (through) the steep mountains, I cut through the difficult places with pick-axes and directed their outflow on to the plain of Nineveh. I strengthened their channels, heaping up (their banks) mountain high, and brought those waters into them. Following (my) plan, I added them to the Husur's waters forever. I had all of the orchards watered in the hot (season). In winter, a thousand fields of alluvium, about and below the city, I had them water every year. To arrest the flow of these waters, I made a swamp and set out a cane-brake within it. *Igiru*-birds, wild swine (*lit.*, swine of the reeds), beasts of the forest, I turned loose therein.

402. By the command of the god, within the orchards, more than in their (native) habitat, the vine, every fruit-bearing tree, and herbs throve luxuriously. The cypress and mulberry, all kinds of trees, grew large and sent out many shoots(?). The cane-brakes developed rapidly (mightily); the birds of heaven, the *igiru*-birds, whose home is far away, built their nests; the wild-swine and beasts of the forest brought forth young in abundance. The mulberry and the cypress, the product of the orchards, the reeds of the brakes which were in the swamp, I cut down and used them as desired, in the building of my royal palaces. The wool-bearing trees they sheared and wove (the wool) into garments.

403. When I had made an end of building my palace, Assur, the great lord, the gods and goddesses who dwell in

Assyria, I invited therein and offered countless sacrifices, and gave (them) presents. Oil of the fruit tree (the olive) and products of the gardens—more than these trees bore in their native habitats—I brought them in abundance. At the dedication of the palace, I drenched the foreheads of the people of my land with wine, with mead I sprinkled their hearts.

404. In days to come, among the kings, my sons, (the prince) whose name Assur shall call to rule land and people,—when that wall shall become old and weak, may he repair its ruins, may he look for the written memorial of my name, may he anoint it with oil, may he offer sacrifices, and restore it to its place. (Then) Assur and Ishtar will hear his prayers.

405. The month *Abu*, the eponymy of Ilu-ittia, governor of Damascus.

5. UNDATED BULL INSCRIPTION

406. Building record on an undated bull inscription (published in Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plates 38 f.).

407. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world); favorite of the great gods; wise sovereign, provident prince, shepherd of peoples, ruler of wide-spreading nations, am I. The queen of the gods, the goddess of procreation, looked upon me with favor (while I was still) in the womb of the mother who bore me, and watched over my conception, while Ea provided a spacious womb, and granted (me) keen understanding, the equal of Master Adapa's. Assur, father of the gods, brought in submission to my feet the whole race of black-headed men, raised aloft my head to be ruler of land and people, gave me a righteous scepter which enlarges my land and put into my hands an unsparing sword for the overthrow of my enemies. At that time I made the enemy population which my hand had conquered carry the headpad (do forced labor) and mold bricks.

408. The palace inside the city of Nineveh, which extended 360 cubits on the side, 95 cubits on the front, and whose site had become too small, which the kings who went before, my fathers, had built for their royal abode, but had not beautified:—bull-colossi of white limestone, they fashioned in the city of Tastiate to flank their (the palaces') doors. For the construction of boats (rafts) they felled mighty trees in the forests throughout the whole of their land. In *Airu*, at the time of the regular spring floods, they laboriously brought them over to this side on the mighty rafts. As they crossed the quay wall, their large boats went down. Their crews strained and injured their bodies, but by might and main, with difficulty, they landed them and placed them by their doors.

409. The Tebiltu, a raging stream, which from days of old had come up close to the palace and with its great floods at high water had destroyed its foundation platform;—that small palace I tore down in its totality. The course of the Tebiltu I changed; I directed its outflow through its low-water channels; below, reeds, above, bitumen (were laid) and (with) great blocks of limestone I covered it over good and strong. (A tract) 454 cubits on the side, 289 cubits in width, I raised up out of the water (in the form of) a field and turned it into dry land. I enlarged the extent (of the available palace area) over that of former days, and added it to the site (survey) of the former palace. I raised its height (head) to 190 *tipku*. Lest in the passing days its platform should give way before the (floods) of high water, I built a facing wall around it of great blocks of limestone and strengthened its structure. To 914 great cubits on the side and 440 great cubits on the front I brought the size of the palace and enlarged its site.

410. A palace of breccia, marble, ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, spruce, *elammaku*-wood, for my royal abode I built and portals, patterned after a Hittite

(Syrian) palace, I had constructed in front (*or*, place) of the doors; with beams of cedar (and) cypress, whose scent is pleasant, products of Amanus and Sirara, the snow-capped (*lit.*, shining) mountains, I roofed them. Door-leaves of cedar, cypress and spruce I bound with a band of silver and copper and set them up in their doorways. In the room within the building, I arranged (*lit.*, opened) chambers, and opened corridors(?). Female colossi of marble and ivory, wearing horned headdresses(?), their fore legs (*lit.*, hands) kneeling, clothed with strength and vigor, full of splendor, I set up by their doors and made them a wonder to behold. The dark color of the roofing timbers in the chambers I brightened (painted?) and made them shine like the day. Clothes-hooks (pegs) of silver and copper I put up around their interior. With burnt brick, *KA*-stone and lapis lazuli I adorned the walls, cornices, and all their copings.

411. That I might accomplish the construction of my palace, and bring to an end the work of my hands, at that time, Assur and Ishtar, who love my priesthood, and have called me by name, showed me how to bring out the mighty cedar logs which had grown large in the days gone by and had become enormously tall as they stood concealed in the mountains of Sirara. Alabaster (marble) which in the days of the kings, my fathers, was precious enough for (inlaying) the hilt of a sword, they disclosed to me in the darkness of Mount Ammanana, and breccia (used) for all kinds of great jars, such as had never been seen before, in (near) Kapridargilâ, which is on the border of Til-Barsip, disclosed itself. Near Nineveh, in the land of Balatai, by decree of the god, white limestone was found (appeared) in abundance; and bull-colossi and sculptured statues of alabaster, which were carved out of one stone, of enormous proportions, towering high upon their own bases; alabaster cow-colossi, whose appearance was splendid, whose bodies shone like the bright

day; great slabs of breccia I fashioned and cut free on both sides, in their mountain, and had them dragged to Nineveh for the construction of my palace. The huge bull-colossi and cow-colossi of white limestone, with Ninkurra's help I "caused to be begotten" and made complete as to their members.

412. In times past, when the kings, my fathers, fashioned a bronze image in the likeness of their members, to set up in their temples, the labor on them exhausted every workman; in their ignorance and lack of knowledge, they drank oil, and wore sheepskins to carry on the work they wanted to do in the midst of their mountains. But, I, Sennacherib, first among the princes, wise in all craftsmanship, great pillars of bronze, colossal lions, open at the knees, which no king before my time had fashioned,—through the clever understanding which the noble Nin-igi-kug had given me, (and) in my own wisdom, I pondered deeply the matter of carrying out that task, following the advice of my head (will) and the prompting of my heart I fashioned the work of bronze and cunningly wrought it.

413. Over great posts and crossbars of wood, 12 fierce lion-colossi together with 12 mighty bull-colossi, complete in form, 22 cow-colossi clothed with exuberant strength and with abundance and splendor heaped upon them,—at the command of the god I built a form of clay and poured bronze into it, as in making half-shekel pieces, and finished their construction. Bull-colossi, made of bronze, two of which were coated with enamel(?), bull-colossi of alabaster, together with cow-colossi of white limestone, I placed at the thresholds of my palaces. High pillars of bronze, together with tall pillars of cedars, the product of Mount Amanus, I inclosed in a sheathing of bronze and lead, placed them upon lion-colossi and set them up as posts to support their doors. Upon the alabaster cow-colossi as well as the cow-colossi made of

bronze, which were coated with enamel(?) and the cow-colossi made of *GU-AN-NA*, whose forms were brilliant, I placed pillars of maple, cypress, cedar, *dupranu*-wood, pine and *sindu*-wood, with inlay of *pasalli* and silver, and set them up as columns in the rooms of my royal abode. Slabs of breccia and alabaster, and great slabs of limestone, I placed around their walls; I made them wonderful to behold. That daily there might be an abundant flow of water of the buckets, I had copper cables(?) and pails made and in place of the (mud-brick) pedestals (pillars) I set up great posts and cross-beams over the wells. Those palaces, all around the (large) palace, I beautified; to the astonishment of all nations, I raised aloft its head. The "Palace without a Rival" I called its name.

414. I set out a great park, like unto Mount Amanus, wherein were all kinds of herbs and fruit trees, trees such as grow on the mountains and in Chaldea. To increase the productiveness of the cultivable (*lit.*, low-lying) fields, from the border of the city of Kisiri to the plain of Nineveh, I cut through the hills (mountains) with iron pickaxes, ran a canal over [1½] *bêru* of ground, from the place where the Husur lets down its ancient waters too low (for irrigation), (and) I made (the water) flow through those fields in irrigation ditches. To arrest the flow of the water through (*lit.*, of) those orchards, I made a swamp and set out a cane-brake therein. *Igiru*-birds, wild swine, beasts of the forests, I turned loose therein.

415. By command of the god, within the orchards, the vine, every fruit-bearing tree, and herbs throve luxuriously. The cypress and mulberry, all kinds of trees, grew large and sent out many shoots(?); the cane-brakes developed rapidly (mightily); the birds of heaven, the *igiru*-birds, built their nests, and the wild swine and beasts of the forests brought forth their young in abundance. The mulberry and the

cypress, the product of the parks, the reeds of the brakes which were in the swamp, I cut down and used them as desired, in the building of my royal palaces.

416. When I had made an end of building my palace, Assur, the great lord, the gods and goddesses who dwell in Assyria, I invited therein and offered countless sacrifices and gave (them) presents. Oil of the fruit tree (the olive), the products of the gardens, I brought to them in abundance. At the dedication of the palace I drenched the foreheads of the people of my land with wine, with mead I sprinkled their hearts. At the command of Assur, father of the gods, and Ishtar, the queen, may the gracious *shêdu*[1] and the gracious *lamassu*[1] ever be seen in that palace, may they not withdraw from its side.

6. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

a) Inscription on a sculptured wall slab (British Museum, No. 53. Text in Meissner-Rost, Die "Bauinschriften Sanheribs," Plate 10)

417. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria: white limestone, which at the command of the god was discovered in the land of Baladai, for the construction of my palace, the people of enemy towns and the men of remote (*lit.*, hidden) mountain (districts), the conquest of my hands, with iron picks and pickaxes quarried, and I turned it (the limestone) into mighty protecting bull-colossi, for the gates of my palace.

b) Inscription on bricks, published in Meissner-Rost (op. cit., Plate 9)

418. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the "Palace without a Rival" for his royal dwelling in Nineveh he has built anew.

[1] The colossi.

c) Inscription on another wall slab (British Museum, No. 56. Text in Meissner-Rost, op. cit., Plate 10)

419. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, huge protecting bull-colossi which were fashioned in the land of Baladai,—for my royal palace which is in Nineveh, I had them joyfully transported (dragged).

d) Inscription on back of slabs (published in IR, 7E)

420. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria. *Ashnan*-stone,[1] whose splendid surface (made it seem) as if (it were composed) of kernels of *sahhar*-grain, which in the time of the kings, my fathers, was solely valued for necklaces (*lit.*, stone of the neck), disclosed itself to me at the foot of Nipur Mountain, (and) I had cow-colossi made thereof, and transported into Nineveh.

e) Inscription on door-sockets (see Meissner-Rost, op. cit., Plate 45)

421. The palace of Sennacherib, the great king, king of the universe, king of Assyria. Through the might of the scepter which Assur, father of the gods, presented to me, costly basalt, from a distant land (mountain; *lit.*, whose land, *or*, mountain is distant), I brought and under the doorposts of the gates of my palace I placed it.

f) Inscription on a granite slab (published in IR, Plate 6, No. VIIIa)

422. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the almighty, the ruler of all princes.

II. THE ARMORY

423. The completion of the armory (*ekal kutalli; lit.*, rear palace) was commemorated by the inscription on (1) the Taylor and Oriental

[1] "Wheat-stone," evidently Fusulina limestone.

Institute prisms (the historical section of which appears above, §§ 232 f.), and (2) on a slab from Nebî Yunus (now lost), published in IR, Plates 43 f.

424. 1. At that time, after I had completed the palace in the midst of the city of Nineveh for my royal residence, had filled it with gorgeous furnishings, to the astonishment of all the people, (I found that) the armory (*lit.*, rear palace), which the former kings, my ancestors, had built for the care of the camp, the stabling of the horses and the storing of things in general (*lit.*, whatever its name), had no terrace, that its site was too small, that its construction had not been skilfully done, that, as the days went by, its foundation platform had become weak, its foundation had given way (and) its roof had fallen in. That palace I tore down in its totality. A large tract of land in (*lit.*, out of) the meadows and environs of the city I took over (*lit.*, seized), according to plan, and added thereto. The site of the former palace I abandoned. With the ground of the meadows which I had seized from the river flats(?), I filled in a terrace, 200 *tipku* I raised its top on high.

425. In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, on the top of that terrace, following the prompting (*lit.*, cunning) of my heart, a palace of limestone and cedar, of Hittite workmanship (*or*, in Hittite style of architecture), also a lofty palace of Assyrian workmanship, which far surpassed the former (palace) in size and beauty (cunning workmanship),—according to the plan of wise architects, I had (them) build (these) for my royal residence.

426. Mighty cedar beams, the product of Amanus, the shining mountain, I stretched over them (*i.e.*, with cedar I roofed them). Door-leaves of *liari*-wood I covered with a sheathing of bright bronze and set them up in their doors. Out of white limestone, which is found in the country of the city of Baladai, I had mighty colossi fashioned and stationed right

and left of their entrances. For the equipment of the black-headed (people; *i.e.*, the Assyrians), the housing (storing) of (battle)-steeds, mules, colts, riding-camels(?), chariots, wagons, carts, quivers, bows and arrows, all kinds of battle equipment, teams of horses and mules which possessed enormous strength, and were broken to the yoke, I greatly enlarged its (*i.e.*, the palace's) court of the gate(?). That palace, from its foundation to its coping, I constructed, I finished. A memorial with my name inscribed I set up in it.

427. In the days to come, among the kings, my sons, whose name Assur and Ishtar shall name for the rule of land and people,—when that palace shall become old and ruined, may some future prince restore its ruins, look upon the memorial with my name inscribed (thereon), anoint it with oil, pour out a libation upon it and return it to its place. (Then) Assur and Ishtar will hear his prayers. He who destroys my inscription and my name, may Assur, the great lord, the father of the gods, treat him as an enemy, take away from him scepter and throne and overthrow his rule.

428. Month *Du'uzu*, eponymy of Gahilu, governor of Hatarikka.[1]

429. 2. (*Nebî Yunus Slab*) At that time (I found that) the armory which is in Nineveh, which the kings, my ancestors, had built for the care of the camp, the stabling of the horses and the storing of things in general,—(that) that palace had no terrace and its site was too small, for the exercising of the horses the gate(?)-court was not roomy enough, (that), as the days went by, its foundation had become weakened and its roof was tottering. That palace in its totality I tore down. According to plan, I took over a large tract out of the meadows, joining it thereto. The site of the former palace I abandoned and in the middle of the tract which I had taken over from the meadows I filled in a terrace.

[1] For the date of the Taylor prism see § 232.

200 *tipki* (layers) of large bricks I raised its top on high. Upon that terrace I laid the foundation of my palaces; a palace of limestone (and) cedar (after) the pattern of a Hittite palace, and a lofty palace of Assyrian workmanship, which far surpassed (the former palace) in size and splendor, I had (them) build for my royal residence. That the steeds might be trained to the yoke and the heavy booty of the enemy which Assur put into my hands might be stored (in safety), I greatly increased the court of the gate(?).

430. (Relying) on the exalted might of the gods, my lords, I sent the order to the kings of Amurru, all of them, who had submitted to me (*lit.*, at my feet). Great cedar beams they felled in Mount Amanus, dragged them to Nineveh and roofed (my palaces with them). Door-leaves of cypress and *liaru*-wood I covered with a sheathing of bronze and set them up in their doors. *Ashnan*-stone, whose beautiful structure had the appearance of cucumber seeds, and was highly prized for necklaces (*lit.*, stones of the neck), or amulets to bring on rain (*lit.*, stone for commanding favor and bringing on rain) and to keep disease from approaching a man, which was brought from the foot of Mount Nipur, together with white limestone which is found in Baladai, I had them fashion into protecting colossi and placed them by their entrances. Upon cow-colossi of (this) *ashnan*-stone I set cedar columns (pillars) and (on these) I placed the cornice of that limestone palace.

431. With the keen understanding which Ea, lord of wisdom, gave me, I made clay molds for all the copper work needed (desired) for my palace which I built at Nineveh,—according to the command of the god, and poured bronze therein. The work of my hands was successful and (the resulting) female protecting deities of shining bronze I caused to carry slabs of *ashnan*-stone, and set them between the cow-colossi. I made them serve as a frieze(?) and made them most beautiful.

432. In the great court below the limestone palace (built) for my royal residence, I built (laid) a pavement of *ashnan*, breccia, and *sâbu*-stone. Four copper pillars, whose capitals(?) were of cast lead, I set up on it (the pavement) and over beams of cedar which were covered with silver, I stretched its roof. The former palace I greatly enlarged. I finished it and splendidly adorned it, to the amazement of all peoples I filled it with costly equipment. Gifts, the tribute of the lands, the wealth of the distant Medes, whose tribute none among the kings my fathers had (ever) received, together with the wagons and [riding] chariots of the Elamite king, the king of Babylon and Chaldea, which my hands had captured, and innumerable (pieces) of equipment which I had laid up as a store for that palace,—(all this) I had (them) bring and place therein (in the armory).

433. At the command of Assur, father of the gods, and Bêlit, the queen, may I dwell in that palace in health of body, joy of heart and brightness of countenance. . . . . May my descendants forever and for all time to come, abide therein. May the bull-colossus, guardian of life, the god who keeps (things) safe by day and night, not leave its side.

III. THE TEMPLE OF THE NEW YEAR'S FEAST

434. The *bît-akîti* ("Temple of the New Year's Feast"), located outside the city walls of Assur, the old capital of Assyria, was restored by Sennacherib during the closing years of his reign. Five inscriptions, commemorating this work have come down to us.

1. An inscription on a foundation stele found at Assur (published in *KAH*, II, No. 122).

435. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), ruler of widespreading peoples; maker of the image (statue) of Assur and the great gods; who restores all the forgotten cults of Esharra, who, through the oracle, (and)

at the behest of Shamash and Adad, multiplies their ceremonies (rituals); who restores the powerful(?) protecting deity of Esharra to its place; who fears the great gods of heaven and greatly befriends the gods of Assyria, who exalts the great gods in their shrines, multiplies their adornments; maker of Assyria, who completes its metropolis; subduer (who makes obedient) of the enemies' land, destroyer of their towns; who digs canals, open wells, runs irrigation ditches, who brings plenty and abundance to the wide acres of Assyria, who furnishes water for irrigation to Assyria's meadows,—engineering (*lit.*, digging) and construction such as none had seen in Assyria in days of old, none had known of (those kings) who went before, (none) had made; who replaces (adobe)-brick work, (*lit.*, the work of the brick-god), both in buildings for the living and the tombs provided for the dead, with mountain limestone, which none of the kings of Assyria, who went before me, had done; provident prince, whose rule is praised above that of (all) kings who dwell in palaces; the support of his land, terrible (*lit.*, exalted) in battle and warfare, the (protecting) shadow of his armies, am I.

436. At that time, after I had them make the image of Assur, the great lord, my lord, and the images of the great gods, had caused them to take up their abode in their shrines of peace, (in) the month *BAR-SAG-SAG* (*Nisânu*), the first month, (that) of father Enlil, the month *Nanmurti*, (the month) of the star *APIN*,[1] of the feast of the banquet of the king of the gods, Assur, which from days of old, on account of disturbances and uprisings, had ceased to be held (*lit.*, neglected) in the Temple of the New Year's Feast of the Desert, (but) was then being celebrated within the city,—the cult of the king of the gods, Assur, in (*lit.*, with) that (kind of a) structure!—to build a Temple of the New Year's Feast, my

[1] The "plow."

heart moved me, the command of Shamash and Adad I sought by oracle, a favorable reply they gave me, and commanded (me) to build.

437. In a favorable month, (on) a propitious (*lit.*, peaceful) day, with the aid (*lit.*, work) of master-builders (and) the wisdom of the priests, I built its foundation of mountain limestone, I raised aloft its turrets (head), from its foundation to its top I constructed it entirely of mountain limestone, and I raised it up mountain high. Two irrigation ditches I dug around its sides, and encircled it with a garden of abundance and orchard(s) of *sasa;* with luxurious plantations I surrounded its sides.

438. After I had destroyed Babylon, had smashed the gods thereof, and had struck down its people with the sword, —that the ground of that city might be carried off, I removed its ground and had it carried to the Euphrates (and on) to the sea. Its earth (*lit.*, dust) reached (was carried) unto Dilmun. The Dilmunites saw it, and the terror of the fear of Assur fell upon them and they brought their treasures. With their treasures they sent artisans, mustered from their land, carriers of the headpad, a copper chariot, copper tools, vessels of the workmanship of their land,—at the destruction of Babylon.

439. To quiet the heart of Assur, my lord, that peoples should bow in submission before his exalted might, I removed the dust of Babylon for presents to (the most) distant peoples, and in that Temple of the New Year's Feast I stored up (some) in a covered bin(?).

440. At the laying of the foundation of the Temple of the New Year's Feast, the treasure which Karibi-ilu, king of Saba',— . . . -stones, precious stones, choice herbs, ordered to be brought,—from that treasure, stones and herbs I laid down in the heart of its foundation, in the heart of the foundation of that Temple of the New Year's Feast: silver, gold,

sandu-stone (carnelian?), lapis lazuli, *hulalu*, *mushgarru*, *UD-ASH*-stones, *UD-ASH-ASH*-stones I heaped up. All kinds of choice herbs, like . . . . . I . . . . . That foundation I sprinkled with the choicest oil as with water from the river.

441. "Thou, foundation(-deposit), for Sennacherib, king of Assyria, lover of justice, maker of the image of Assur, builder of the house of his grace, to Assur speak: 'With Assyria and Esharra may his offspring prosper; may his sons and his grandsons abide among the black-headed race (of men) forever and ever.'"

442. May any future prince whose name Assur shall call for the rulership (shepherding) of land and people, in whose reign that temple shall fall to ruins, restore its ruins; may he look upon my memorial stele, anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, and restore it to its place. And Assur will hear his prayers. But the destroyer of my stele, who ignores my word, who does that which is not good for . . . . . and their offspring,—may Assur, king of the gods, and the great gods, of heaven and earth, curse him with an evil curse which cannot be removed, may they overthrow his kingdom, deprive him of life, and destroy his name, his seed, his kith and his kin, in every land.

443. 2. Copy of an inscription intended for a foundation stele (in the British Museum; published by Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, Plate 16).

444. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, maker of the images of Assur and the great gods: the Temple of the New Year's Feast of the Plain, whose cult has been forgotten since days of old, which(?) I restored at the command of the oracle (*lit.*, oracle and command) of Shamash and Adad,—its outer temple, Bît-ugga, was destroyed by fire. The name of its sanctuary, E-balagga, [I changed] and . . . . . I called its name. A gate of burnished copper, with all kinds of [re-

liefs] in the workmanship of the smith-god, by my own artistic ability, I made, and the image of [Assur, who] is advancing to battle [into the midst of Tiamat], as he raises his bow, riding in a chariot, ⌜bringing on⌝ the storm, (and the image of) Amurru, who rides with him as charioteer (holder of the reins),—(these) I engraved upon that gate at the command of Shamash and Adad, as they gave it through the oracle.

445. The gods who go before him and after him, those who ride on chariots, and those who go on foot, [and] ⌜their⌝ [helpers] as they are drawn up in line before Assur, and as they are drawn up in line behind Assur; (the image of) Tiamat, (and) the creatures inside her, into whose midst Assur, king of gods, is advancing to battle,—I engraved upon that gate in obedience to the command of Shamash and Adad.

446. The rest of the gods, who are advancing on foot,—at the command of Shamash and Adad ⌜I engraved these⌝. When Assur was not yet overpowering Tiamat, but facing the beasts whom Tiamat was bringing on, how these were advancing on foot, ... their . . . . . [In obedience to⌝ the command of Shamash and Adad [that which] I wrote (in words) [upon] that ⌜gate⌝, I (also) ⌜engraved (thereon)] . . . . of silver, gold, copper, as a *shertu*(?), I set up. Vessels of silver, gold, copper (whose weight ranged?) from ½ to 1 shekel, were fashioned, together I . . . . . (as) the skilled designer of their beauty, the undertaker of their construction, I wished (*or*, was able) to . . . . . If that . . . . . of ⌜copper⌝, ... , at the gate of life thou wilt place my word, O king of the gods, Assur, the god, my begetter, whom . . . . . at the side of the ⌜prince of the gods⌝ I have made to take his place. The image of Assur and the image(s) of the great gods, as many as advanced to battle with him into the midst of Tiamat,—his form, this workmanship, which I had not(?) fashioned, that I might engrave it by the side of the *huranuti*,

these images I caused to be set therein, and in the midst of these images (was) the engraving, according to this workmanship which I had fashioned.

447. (This is) the image of Assur as he advances to battle into the midst of Tiamat, the image of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, of Shar-ur, Shar-gaz, Gaga, Nusku, Daianu, Tishpak, Mash of the Wall, Kubu, Hani, Sibitti—these gods who were advancing in front of Assur; Ninlil, Sheru'a, Sin, Ningal, Shamash, Aia, Gamlat, Anu, Antum, Adad, Shala, Ea, Damkina, the mistress of the gods, Mash,—these gods who are behind Assur. I am the one who conquers, stationed in Assur's chariot. Tiamat and the creatures inside her.

448. 3. Three short inscriptions on limestone blocks from Assur (published in *KAH*, II, Nos. 117–19) also commemorate the restoration of the *bît-akîti*.

449a. Sennacherib, the king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of the image of Assur and the great gods, that Temple of the New Year's Feast from its foundation to its top I built mountain high of mountain limestone.

450b. Sennacherib, the king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of the image (statue) of Assur, Anu, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Nergal, Ishtar of the Kidmuru temple, MAH, and the great gods, am I. I built (laid) the foundation platform of the Temple of the New Year's Feast, the dwelling of Assur, my lord, of white limestone.

451c. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the king of the universe, maker of the image of Assur, Sherûa, Anu, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Ishtar of the Kidmuru temple, MAH, Gaga, Hani, Kubu, DUB, Nergal, Ningal-kimah, and the great gods, am I. The foundation platform of the Temple of the New Year's Feast, the festival of Assur's banquets,—of mountain limestone I built (laid) its foundation.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS AND EPIGRAPHS

I. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE EHARSAGGALKURKURRA AT ASSUR

(Text, *KAH*, II, No. 124)

452. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), ruler of widespreading peoples, maker of the image of Assur, Anu, Sin, Shamash, ... Nergal, Ishtar of the Kidmuru temple, MAH, and the great gods, who restores all the cults of Esharra and Emishmish, who fears the gods of heaven, and greatly befriends the gods of Assyria. Maker of Assyria, who completes its metropolis, who uproots the land of the enemy, who destroys their settlements. Provident prince, whose rule is exalted above that of (all) kings who dwell in palaces; the support of his land, terrible in battle and warfare; the (protecting) shadow of his armies, am I.

453. Eharsaggalkurkurra, which is in Esharra, the shrine of Assur, the great lord, my lord, whose splendid structure had fallen to ruins since days of old;—when (I found that) its door opened to the south, in the wisdom (*lit.*, wide ears) which Ea gave me, with the cleverness with which Assur endowed me, I took counsel with myself alone, and to open the gate of Eharsaggalkurkurra to the east (rising sun) instead of the south, my heart moved me. The will of Shamash and Adad I sought to learn (by oracle), and they vouchsafed me (their) enduring grace,—that that door should open toward the east instead of the south, Shamash and Adad commanded. On hearing this, I cut through its wall and toward the breast of Assur, my lord, instead of the south, I opened a new door, and I called its name "Gate of Royalty."

454. The *Shahuru*-temple[1] I built anew, and widened its door. In that door of the *Shahuru*-temple, four (statues) of

[1] See Index.

GUD, son of Shamash, of burnished copper, raising their hands on high to Shamash, supported the roof. Below their feet rested upon two bronze shrines of copper fish-men (and) of copper *Suhur*-fish. (To) the rooms right and left of the gate, fierce dogs and scorpion men supported the entrances. The "Door of the Road of Enlil," I called its name. Its court I restored and called it the "Court of the Rows of the Stations of the Igigi." Its door, opening toward the rising sun, and upon the river, I named the "*Burumu* (Firmament)-door." Its entrance door to the court I called the "Entrance of the Igigi." The door toward the south I named the "Door of Prostration(?) of the Igigi." To its entrance door to the court I gave the name "Door of the Products of the Land(s)." Its door toward the north I called the "Door of the Wagon-Star." Its entrance door to the court I named the "Door of the Shrine of Fate." The *Bâb Papahi* ("Door to the Sanctuary") of the *Shahuru*-temple,—its walls as well as its court, (its) rooms and doors, from its foundation to its top, I completed in brick (*lit.*, workmanship of the brick-god). I raised its top (head) mountain high. In the cunning of my heart (artistic sense) I gave names to its doors and their courts.

455. "Thou, foundation stele, for Sennacherib, king of Assyria, lover of justice, maker of the images of his god, builder of the temple of his grace, to Assur speak: 'With Assyria and Esharra may his offspring prosper; may his sons and his grandsons abide among the black-headed race (of men) forever and ever.'"

May any future prince whose name Assur shall call for the rulership (shepherding) of land and people, in whose reign that temple shall fall to ruins, restore its ruins; may he look upon my memorial stele, anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, and restore it to its place. And Assur will hear his prayers. But the destroyer of my stele, who ignores my word, may Assur, king of the gods, and the great gods of heaven

and earth, curse him with an evil curse which cannot be removed, may they overthrow his kingship, deprive him of life, and destroy his name, his seed, his kith and his kin, in the people's mouth.

II. INSCRIPTION INTENDED FOR A FOUNDATION STELE OF A HANI TEMPLE

(Text, Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, Plate 15)

456. ⌜Sennacherib⌝, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, [king of the four quarters of the earth⌝, ruler of widespreading peoples, [maker of the image of Assur . . . . .] Adad, Nergal, ⌜Nusku⌝ . . . . (*Four lines lost.*) . . . . . to whom . . . has made subject . . . . . his armies, am I.

457. . . . . the *shaddabak* whose appearance was . . . . . of Hani, their god, I made . . . . . for the great gods, . . . gods, for . . . . . before me . . . . . to build (for?) Hani, ... [from its foundation to its top] I finished. Hani, god of the scribes, I made to dwell (therein).

458. "Thou, foundation (stele), for Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the prince, maker of the images of Assur and the great gods, builder of the temple of his grace, to Assur speak: 'May his sons and his grandsons abide among the black-headed race (of men) forever and ever.'"

(*The blessing and curse, as at end of preceding text, follow.*)

III. INSCRIPTION ON A SLAB FROM THE TEMPLE OF ESHARRA

(Text, *VS*, I, No. 75)

459. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of images of Assur (and) the great gods, am I. Of the court of Esharra, the palace of the gods, the foundation platform I built of limestone (slabs).

IV. BRICK INSCRIPTION FROM THE TEMPLE OF ESHARRA AT ASSUR

(Text, *KAH*, I, No. 48)

460. For Assur, father of the gods, his lord, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, maker of the image(s) of Assur and the great gods, the cornice of the wall of Esharra, with burnt-brick blocks (*lit.*, stone) has beautified exceedingly.

V. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION REGARDING THE RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ESHARRA

(Text, Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, Plate 14)

461. To Assur, king of all the gods, creator of himself, father of the gods, whose form developed in the deep (*apsu*), king of heaven and earth, lord of all of the gods, who pours out the Igigi and the Anunnaki, fashioner of the abode of Anu (heaven) and the earth's surface, maker of all habitations, who dwells in the shining spheres (constellations), Enlil (lord) of the gods, who decrees destinies, who dwells in Esharra, which is in Assur, the great lord, his lord, ⌜Sennacherib⌝, king of Assyria, maker of the image of Assur and the great gods, for the lengthening of his days, the happiness of his heart, the stability of his reign, a drum of burnished (red) copper, of . . . . . workmanship, which according to the workmanship of the god IGI-DUGGU was . . . . . skilfully he made, and for . . . . and for the peace of his heart . . . . on the fifth day and the seventh day . . . . . and . . . . .

VI. INSCRIBED SLAB FROM THE COURT OF ESHARRA

(Text, *KAH*, I, No. 73)

462. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of the image(s) of Assur and the great gods, am I. The floor of the court of Esharra, the temple of the gods, I paved with white limestone.

VII. INSCRIPTION ON ANOTHER SLAB FROM ASSUR

(Text, *ibid.*, No. 74)

463. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of the images of Assur and the great gods, am I.

VIII. INSCRIPTION ON BRICKS FROM A SHRINE AT ASSUR

(Text, *ibid.*, No. 72)

464. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of the image(s) of Assur and the great gods, am I. The *bît-tikâte* ("house of ropes"?) of the court where the Igigi stand in line(?), I built of bright oven bricks and raised it mountain high.

IX. BRICK INSCRIPTION FROM ASSUR

(Text, *ibid.*, II, No. 123)

465. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria.

X. INSCRIPTION ON A LIMESTONE BLOCK FROM ASSUR

(Text, *ibid.*, I, No. 43)

466. I am Sennacherib, king of Assyria, maker of the image(s) of Assur and the great gods; this temple for my god Assur, for the life of my younger son, who was begotten at the feet of Assur, I have built; of limestone (blocks), mountain stone, its foundation I have made.

XI. INSCRIPTION ON A LIMESTONE BLOCK FROM ASSUR

(Text, *ibid.*, No. 44)

467. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, (this) palace for Assur, my god, for his life has built.

XII. INSCRIPTION FROM THE *MUSHLAL* AT ASSUR

(Text, *ibid.*, No. 45)

468. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of the image(s) of Assur and the great gods, am I. The

mushlal[1] of the palace which is in the city of Assur,—of limestone blocks, mountain stone, I built its foundation.

XIII. BRICK FROM THE ROYAL SEPULCHER AT ASSUR

(Text, *ibid.*, No. 46)

469. The palace of repose, the eternal abode, the house established firm as heaven and earth, belonging to Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

XIV. BRICK FROM THE ROYAL SEPULCHER AT ASSUR

(Text, *ibid.*, No. 47)

470. The palace of rest (sleep), the sepulcher of repose, the eternal abode, of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

XV. BRICK FROM THE PALACE BUILT AT ASSUR FOR ASSUR-NADIN-SHUM

(Text, *ibid.*, No. 49)

471. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of the image(s) of Assur and the great gods, am I. This house for Assur-nâdin-shum, my oldest son, I have made and of limestone (blocks), mountain stone, its foundation I have built. Of brick (*lit.*, the work of the brick-god) I have built it, and mountain high I have raised it.

XVI. VASE INSCRIPTION

(Published in *ibid.*, No. 50)

472. Belonging to Tashmetum-sharrat, the concubine (palace woman) of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

XVII. INSCRIPTION ON TWO STELES FROM NINEVEH

(Published in Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, Plate 65)

473. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of

[1] See Index.

the world), favorite of the great gods: Assur and Ishtar have given me an invincible weapon and have opened my hand for the destruction of the enemies of Assyria. Trusting in their great might, I led my armies from one end of the earth to the other and brought in submission at my feet all princes, dwelling in palaces, of the four quarters (of the world),—and they assumed (*lit.*, drew) my yoke.

474. At that time I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my royal city, I made its "market streets" (*sûks*) wide (enough to) run a royal road, and made (it, the road) shine like the day. The wall and outer wall I caused to be skilfully constructed and raised them mountain high. I widened its moat to 100 great cubits.

475. In days to come, that there might be no narrowing of the royal road, I had steles made which stand facing each other (*lit.*, on that side over against this). 52 great cubits I measured the width of the royal road, up to the Park Gate.

476. If ever (anyone of) the people who dwell in that city tears down his old house and builds a new one, and the foundation of his house encroaches upon the royal road, they shall hang him upon a stake (crucify him) over his (own) house.

XVIII. FRAGMENT OF A BUILDING INSCRIPTION

(Published in Meissner-Rost, *ibid.*, Plate 12)

477. . . . . . palace . . . . . that the work . . . . . the circuit of the wall of the city . . . . A retaining wall I caused to be made . . . . which is in the city . . . . its squares I widened . . . . . its streets I adorned . . . Opposite the gate inside the city, of burnt brick and white limestone I built a . . . . . for the driving of my royal chariot. I fashioned memorial steles and wrote thereon the might and power which, [with the aid of Assur, my lord], I imposed upon all my enemies, (as well as) . . . . all the works of my hands.

478. With the steles of princes who went before . . . in

the wall within the city of Nineveh, my royal city, . . . I left them for the days to come to the kings, my sons . . . . When, [in the reign of any] of my sons whom Assur [shall call by name to rule over land] and people, that wall shall become old [and fall to ruins, let him restore its ruins], let ⌜him look upon⌝ the memorial with my name inscribed thereon, [and anoint it with oil], let him offer sacrifices and ⌜return it⌝ to its place. (Then) Assur and Ishtar [will hear] his prayers.

That which is on the memorial . . . . which ⌜Sennacherib⌝, (?) . . . . . .

XIX. INSCRIPTION ON SLABS FROM THE WALL OF NINEVEH

(Published in IR, 6, No. VIII*B*)

479. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria. The wall and outer wall of Nineveh I built anew and raised them mountain high.

XX. INSCRIPTION ON BRICKS FROM THE NERGAL TEMPLE AT TARBISI

(Published in IR, 7*C*, and *VS*, I, No. 74)

480. For Nergal, his lord, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the Meslam palace, which is in Tarbisi, from its foundation to its top has (re)built, has finished.

XXI. INSCRIPTION ON SLABS FROM THE NERGAL TEMPLE AT TARBISI

(Published in IR, 7*D*)

481. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the Meslam palace, the temple of Nergal, which is in Tarbisi, has caused to be (re)built and has caused it to shine like the day.

XXII. CONE INSCRIPTION FROM THE NERGAL TEMPLE AT TARBISI

(Published in IIIR, 3, No. 13)

482. For Nergal, his lord, (I), Sennacherib, king of Assyria, have (re)built [the Meslam temple which is in] Tarbisi

—from its foundation ⌜to its top]; for my life, the welfare of my seed, the overthrow of my enemies, ⌜the success of the harvests of Assyria and the welfare⌝ of Assyria, and I have set up votive cones (*zikâte*).[1]

XXIII. BRICK INSCRIPTION FROM KAKZI

(Published in IR, 7*H*)

483. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, has built of burnt brick the outer wall of Kakzi.

XXIV. A COLLECTION OF EPIGRAPHS ON A CLAY TABLET

(K 1280; published in IIIR, 4, No. 4)

484. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, in the mighty mountains, wherein there is no abundant (plant)-life—(neither) *hâmu* (nor) *husâbu*, (but) wherein mighty trunks of the *e'ari* thrive; the strong, steady wind does not delay progress (going) among them; in the (place) where I pitched my camp no other (*lit.*, second) living being made his halt. Over them (these mountains) I and my armies, laboriously struggling, passed.

485. Bît-⌜Kubatti⌝.

486. Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, feared the onset of my battle, rent his royal robe and hastily left Babylon.

487. Shuzubu, the terrified king, who turned the kingship of Babylon to himself,—terror of my onset fell upon him and he became despondent(?), from the back of (his) horse he fell to the ground.

488. Sumer.
Meluhha(?).

[1] Cf. Vol. I, § 49.

XXV. EPIGRAPH: SENNACHERIB AT LACISH

(Paterson, *The Palace of Sennacherib*, Plates 74–76)

489. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, sat upon a house chair (while) the booty of Lachish passed before him.

XXVI. EPIGRAPH OVER THE CITY OF DILBAT

(Paterson, *ibid.*, Plate 13)

490. Dilbat I besieged, I conquered, I carried off its spoil.

XXVII. EPIGRAPH OVER THE CITY OF BIT-KUBATTI

(Paterson, *ibid.*, Plate 12)

491. Bît-Kubatti I besieged, I conquered, I carried off its spoil, with fire I burned it.

XXVIII. EPIGRAPH OVER AN UNKNOWN CITY

(Paterson, *ibid.*, Plate 39)

492. . . . . ammu I besieged . . . . . I carried off its spoil.

XXIX. EPIGRAPH OVER THE KING IN HIS CHARIOT

(Paterson, *ibid.*, Plate 75)

493. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria. [The booty] of Kasusi(?) [passed] before him.

XXX. EPIGRAPH: SENNACHERIB RECEIVING THE TRIBUTE OF THE MARSHES

(Paterson, *ibid.*, Plate 13)

494. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, booty from the marshes of Sahriti passed before him.

XXXI. EPIGRAPH OVER THE CAMP OF THE KING

(Paterson, *ibid.*, Plate 8)

495. Camp of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

XXXII. OVER THE TENT

(Paterson, *ibid.*, Plates 74–76)

496. Tent of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

CHAPTER VII

ESARHADDON; THE HISTORICAL TEXTS

497. The inscriptions of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), like those of his father, Sennacherib, have here been separated into two groups, the first containing the historical sections of the records, the second the building inscriptions.

498. Esarhaddon's annals went through a number of editions, the earliest of which seem to date from the year 673 B.C. Owing to the condition in which the documents have come down to us, and to the fact that the scribes did not arrange the events of the king's reign according to years or campaigns,[1] the modern editor's task becomes somewhat difficult. However, the publication of Prism S by Scheil, in 1914,[2] went a long way in establishing the broken Prism B, which it restores for the greater part, as a primary source for the events of the reign.

I. THE BROKEN PRISMS B AND S

499. The fact that the first preserved lines of the broken Prism B of the British Museum (text published in IIIR, 15–16) gave an account of Esarhaddon's accession to the throne made it probable that, when complete, this document contained some account of the murder of Sennacherib and the fight of Esarhaddon for the throne. This surmise has been substantiated by the discovery of the fragmentary Prism S, which enables us to restore much of what has been lost from Prism B. See also Schmidke, in Meissner's *Altorentalische Texte und Untersuchungen*, I, 73 f., where a fragment of another Esarhaddon text (VAT 3458), supplementing Prism S, is published.

Introduction. Esarhaddon's succession decreed by divine oracle (Prism S, Col. I, ll. 1–16+VAT 3458, Col. I, ll. 1–15+DEP, XIV, p. 37)

500. [Esarhaddon], the great [king, king of Assyria], viceroy of ⌜Babylon⌝, [king of Sumer and Akkad], king of

[1] Fragments K 3082, etc. (§ 553), and, possibly, 80, 7—19, 15 (*Hebraica*, IV, 25) show that there were exceptions to this rule.

[2] *Le Prisme S d'Assaraddon* (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, fas. 208).

the [four] regions (of the earth), [favorite of the great] gods, [his lords]. [Whom Assur, ... Marduk] and Nabû, [Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar] of Arbela, ... —ed and whose name [they named for the kingship]. I was still a youth, [when, at the command of Assur, Shamash, Bêl] and Nabû, [Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar] of Arbela, the father who begot me, ... solemnly lifted up my [head] and [concerning my right to succession] to rulership, he inquired of ⌜Shamash and Adad⌝, [lords of the oracles⌝. A positive answer they gave him, saying: "He is your successor." He honored their grave pronouncement (*lit.*, weighty word) and gathered together the people of Assyria, great and small, my brothers, seed of the house of my father, to one (place) and before Assur, Sin, Shamash, Nabû and Marduk, the gods of Assyria, the gods dwelling in heaven and on earth, he made them take solemn oath, in their name, to secure (*lit.*, guard) my accession (to power).

The plot of the brothers, the murder of Sennacherib, the revolt of the Assyrians and Esarhaddon's triumph (Prism S, Col. I, ll. 17–30+VAT 3458, Col. I, ll. 16–41+DEP, XIV, p. 41, Prism SS+Prism B, Col. I, ll. 1–27+Prism S, Col. II, ll. 1–5)

501. [In] the month *Nisanu*, on a favorable day, complying with their exalted command, I made my joyful entrance into the royal palace (harem), the awesome place, wherein abides the fate of kings (*lit.*, of kingship). A firm [determination] "fell upon" my brothers. They forsook the gods and turned to their deeds of violence, plotting evil. Evil word(s) and deed(s), contrary to the will (*lit.*, heart) of god, they perpetrated against me. Unholy ⌜hostility⌝ they planned behind my back.

502. [As for me⌝, who was submissive to the will (*lit.*, heart) of my father, since the gods were not angry with me,

and his heart was . . . . . and mercy had taken possession of him so that his mind (*lit.*, ears) was set [upon my accession (to power)], ... and moved my soul. [My brothers . . . . . trusting] in their own counsel, ... committed unwarranted [acts]. Their evil . . . . . my prayer, ... they received my supplication . . . . . before the evil deed . . . . . their kindly protecting shadow . . . . . me for the kingship . . . . . everything which toward the gods . . . . . they plotted evil . . . . . they rejected. The gods . . . . . above. (*Short break in text.*) They revolted(?). To gain the ⌜kingship⌝ they slew ⌜Sennacherib, their father.] Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl (Marduk) and Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, looked with disfavor upon the deed of the villains which was committed in defiance of the will of the gods and did not aid them (*lit.*, come to their side). But they brought their forces to utter confusion (*lit.*, possession by demons) and made them submit themselves to me.

503. The people of Assyria, who had taken the oath by the great gods, through the water and oil (rites), [to accept my crownprinceship⌝, (nevertheless) ⌜went⌝ to their aid. [And me, Esarhaddon⌝, [who advanced] trusting in the great gods, ... they opposed . . . . . (*Short break here*).

504. I rent [my garments], and raised the cry of [lamentation]. I roared like a lion, my passion (*lit.*, liver) was aroused. For (permission) to assume the kingship belonging to my father's house and to exercise my priestly office, I raised my hands (in prayer) to Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, Nabû and Nergal, to Ishtar of Nineveh (and) Ishtar of Arbela, and they received my words with favor. In (token) of their sure approval they favored me with a trustworthy oracle: "Go, do not give up. We will go at thy side, we will slay thy foes." I did not delay one day, nor two. I did not (even) wait for my armies. I did not look back. To the care of the horses

and harnessing of the teams, ⟨I gave no attention⟩. My battle equipment I did not gather. Provisions for my journey I did not provide. The snow and cold of the month of *Shabâtu*, bitter cold, I did not fear. Like a swooping bird of prey (*sisinnu*-bird) I opened my hands to bring low my foes. I made my way toward Nineveh painfully but quickly. Before me, in the land of Hanigalbat, all of their mighty warriors blocked my path, offering battle. The terror of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them. They saw the fierce onset of my battle (-array) and became as insane (men). Ishtar, queen of war and battle, lover of my priesthood, stood at my side, broke their bows, shattered their battle line. (Some) of their number spoke up, "This is our king," coming over to my side, at her exalted command, as they said (it). Following [after me like lambs[1], they implored my majesty's (favor). The people of Assyria, who had sworn allegiance before me by the great gods, came into my presence and kissed my feet.

505. As for those villains who instigated revolt and rebellion, when they heard of the approach of my army, they abandoned their regular troops, and fled to parts unknown. I reached the dyke of the Tigris. [At the word] of Sin and Shamash, the gods, the lords of the dyke, my armies scrambled over the wide Tigris as (across an) irrigation ditch.

Entry into Nineveh and accession to the throne (Prism S, Col. II, ll. 6–16+DEP, XIV, p. 37, Col. II+VAT 3458, Col. II, ll. 1–6)

506. In the month of *Adaru*, a favorable month, on the eighth day, a feast day of Nabû, I entered into Nineveh, my royal city, joyfully, and took my seat upon the throne of my father in safety. The south wind blew,—the breath(?) of Ea, the wind whose blowing is favorable for exercising (*or*, assuming) kingship. There awaited me favorable signs in heaven and on earth, a message of the soothsayers, tidings

from the gods and goddesses. Continually they . . . . . and gave my heart courage. The soldiers, the rebels (sinners) who had fomented the plot to seize the rulership of Assyria for my brothers, their ranks I examined to the last man (*lit.*, as one) and I laid a heavy penalty upon them, I destroyed their seed.

Titles of the king. Paean of praise (Prism S, Col. II, ll. 17–44 +VAT 3458, Col. II, ll. 7–37)

507. I am Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, mighty warrior, first among all princes, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria. Creature of Assur and Ninlil, beloved of Sin and Shamash, favorite of Nabû and Marduk, object of Queen Ishtar's affection, heart's desire of the great gods; the powerful, the wise, thoughtful and knowing, whom the great gods have called to kingship for the restoration of (the images) of the great gods, and for the complete (re)-building of the shrines of every metropolis. Builder of the temple of Assur, restorer of Esagila and Babylon, who restored (the images) of the gods and goddesses (dwelling) therein, who returned the captive gods of the lands from Assur to their places and caused them to dwell in peaceful habitations, until he had completely restored (all) the temples and had settled the gods in their shrines, to dwell there eternally; yea 'twas I who marched triumphantly, relying on their might, from the rising to the setting sun, and had no rival, who brought in submission at my feet the princes of the four quarters (of the world). Against (every) land that had rebelled (*lit.*, sinned) against Assur, they sent me, *me*.

508. Assur, father of the gods,—to cause (men) to settle down and live (in peace), to extend the border of Assyria, he commissioned me (*lit.*, filled my hand). Sin, lord of the tiara, —power, manhood, bravery (*lit.*, fulness of the breast), he

made my lot. Shamash, light of the gods,—to my honored name he brought the highest renown. Marduk, king of the gods,—he made the fear of my rule overwhelm the lands of the four quarters (of the world) like a mighty hurricane. Nergal, the almighty among the gods,—fear, terror, awe-inspiring splendor, he granted me as a gift. Ishtar, queen of battle and warfare,—a mighty bow, a monstrous javelin, she gave me as a gift. (*Break in text.*)

Suppression of rebels in the sea-land (*Prism B, Col. II, ll. 1–20*)

509. . . . . our fate, confusion . . . . . His camp he (Nabû-zêr-kitti-lishir) mustered against Ningal-iddina, governor of Ur, my obedient servant. He besieged him and cut off his retreat. After Assur, Shamash, Bêl (Marduk) and Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, had caused me, Esarhaddon, to take my seat upon the throne of my father, in safety, and had turned over to me the rule of the land, that one was not frightened, did not give up and set my servant free, he did not send his messenger (to appear) before me, nor did he send greetings to my majesty.[1] I heard of his evil deeds in Nineveh, and my heart was enraged, my soul (*lit.*, liver) stirred. My officials, the governors of (provinces) on the border of his land, I sent against him. And that Nabû-zêr-kitti-lisher, the seditious revel, heard of the advance of my hosts and fled to Elam like a fox. Because of the oath by the great gods which he violated, Assur, Sin and Shamash, Bêl and Nabû, laid a heavy penalty upon him and they (the people) put him to death with the sword in Elam.

510. Nâ'id-Marduk, his brother, saw what happened in Elam, what they had done to his brother, and he fled from Elam and came to Assyria, to become my servant, and implored my royal (grace). The sea-land in its entirety, the domain of his brother, I put under his control. Yearly, with-

[1] *Lit.*, ask my royal peace.

out fail, he came to Nineveh with his rich gifts and kissed my feet.

Overthrow of Abdi-milkutti of Sidon and organization of the Syrian coast into an Assyrian province (Prism B, Col. II, ll. 27–30+Prism S, Col. III, ll. 1–25)

511. Abdi-milkutti, king of Sidon, who did not fear my majesty, did not heed the word of my lips, who trusted in the fearful sea and cast off my yoke,—Sidon, his garrison city, which lies in the midst of the sea. . . . . (*Break in text.*) . . . . . Like a fish I caught him up out of the sea and cut off his head. His wife, his sons, the people of his palace, property and goods, precious stones, garments of colored wool and linen, maple and boxwood, all kinds of treasures from his palace, in (great) abundance, I carried off. His widespreading peoples,—there was no numbering them, cattle and sheep and asses, in great number, I transported to Assyria.

512. And I gathered together the kings of Hatti (Syria) and the seacoast, all of them, and in another place (*i.e.*, on a new site) I had a city built. [Its name I called] Esarhaddon-burg. Bît-Supuri, Shikkû, ... Inimme, Hildûme(?) . . . . . Bi'rû, Kilmê, Biti— . . . . . Sagû, Ampâ, Bît-Hisime(?), Birgi', Gambulum(?), Dalaimme, Isihimme, cities in Sidon's environment, where there was ⌜fodder and water⌝, his garrison (towns) which, by the aid of [Assur, my lord], my hand had captured,—the people, spoil of my bow, of mountain and sea of the setting sun, therein I settled, and I returned to Assyria. That province [I reorganized] and set my official as governor over them, laying upon them a tribute greater than that of former days. Those cities of his,—Ma'rub(?), ... Sariptu, I turned over to (counted into the hand of) Ba'li, ⌜king of Tyre⌝. To the earlier tribute I added a yearly gift from him,—my royal levy, and imposed it upon him.

Against Sanduarri. The heads of Sanduarri and Abdi-milkutti brought to Nineveh (Prism S, Col. III, ll. 26–42)

513. And Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sizzû, a bitter enemy, who did not respect (*lit.*, fear) my rule, whom the gods deserted so that he sought security in the rugged mountains, that Abdi-milkutti, king of Sidon,—they were brought into an alliance and swore (loyalty) to each other, in the name of their gods. Reliance was placed in their own might. But as for me, in Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl and Nabû, the great gods, my lords, I put my reliance and I brought him to a halt. Like a bird I snared him out of (his) mountain and ⌜cut off his head]. In the month of *Tashritu*, the head of Abdi-⌜milkutti⌝, in the month of *Adaru*, the head of ⌜Sanduarri⌝: in the same (*lit.*, one) year I ⌜cut off their heads]. No former (prince) had beheld(?) or . . . . . .

514. That the might of Assur, my lord, ⌜might be made manifest], [I hung their heads] upon the shoulders of their nobles [and with singing] and music [I paraded through] the public square [of Nineveh].

Against Asuhêli (Prism S, Col. III, ll. 43–46)

515. The city of Arzani,[1] which is on the border of the ⌜Brook in Egypt, I plundered]. Asuhili, its king, ⌜I cast into fetters and brought to Assyria]. Beside the gate ⌜inside the city of Nineveh⌝ [I kept him tied, along with, ...] dogs and swine.

Against Teushpâ, the Cimmerian, and the people of Hilakku (Prism S, Col. III, l. 47+Prism B, Col. III, ll. 1–12)

516. And [Teushpâ, the Cimmerian, a barbarian whose home was afar off], I cut down with the sword in the land of ⌜Hubushna, together with all his troops]. I trampled upon the neck of the people of Hilakku. (The people of) Du'ua, who dwell in the [mountains] by the border of Tabal, [ene-

[1] The reading of this name is not absolutely certain. It may be Arzâ.

mies(?)], who trusted in their mountain fastnesses, and from days of old, had not submitted to [the kings, my fathers], 21 of their large cities, together with [the small towns] of their environs I besieged, ⌜I captured, I plundered], I destroyed, I devastated, ⌜I burned with fire]. On the rest of them, who were not guilty of rebellion [and insubordination, I imposed] the heavy yoke of my sovereignty.

Overthrow of the Barnakeans, Manneans, Scythians, and the Chaldeans of Bît-Dakkuri (Prism B, Col. III, ll. 13–28)

517. I trod under foot the wicked Barnakeans,—inhabitants of Til-Assur, who in the ⌜tongue of the people] of Mihrânu are named Pitâneans. I scattered the Mannean people, intractable barbarians (*kutû*) and I smote with the sword the armies of(?) Ishpakai, the Scythian(Asgusai),—alliance (with them) did not save him. I plundered Bît-Dakkuri, which is in Chaldea, the enemy of Babylon. I captured Shamash-ibni its king, a felon, outlaw, who did not fear the name of the lord of lords, and who had seized the fields of the inhabitants (*lit.*, sons) of Babylonia and Borsippa, by force, taking them for himself. Because I was one who knew the fear of Bêl and Nabû, I returned those fields once more to the inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa. Nabû-shallim, son of Balasu, I set upon his (Shamash-ibni's) throne and he drew my yoke (was my vassal). (*Break in text.*)

Against Bêl-ikîsha of Gambulu (Prism S, Col. IV, l. 1)

518. . . . . I made a locked door [toward Elam].

Settlement of the Arabian question (Prism S, Col. IV, ll. 2–29)

518a. [Adumu, the fortress of Arabia,[1] which Sennacherib, the father] who begot me, [had captured and destroyed,[1] carrying off the gods of [the king] of Arabia and [bringing them to Assyria];—Hazael, king of the Arabs, [came] to Nineveh, my royal city, [with his rich gifts[1], and kissed my

feet, imploring me [to give (back) his gods]. I had mercy upon him and . . . . . (the gods) . . . . . Dai, Nuhai, ... Ebirillu, Atar-kurumai, [of these gods] I repaired the injuries and inscribed the might of Assur, my lord, [and the characters of my name] upon them and gave them back to him. [Tabûa, a scion] of my palace, [I set] over them to rule (as queen) and, with her gods, sent her back to her land. [55(?) camels] [I added] to the former tribute and laid it upon him. As for Hazael, fate [snatched him away], and Iata', his son, I placed on his throne. [10 minas] of gold, 1,000 precious stones, 50 camels, [1,000] bundles(?) of herbs, I added to his father's tribute and laid it upon him. Thereafter Uabu, to gain the kingship, roused all of the Arabs to rebel against Iata' and I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), who loves righteousness and whose abomination (*lit.*, agony, distress) is unrighteousness (evil, rebellion), my fighting men I sent to the aid of Iata' and they subdued all of the Arabs. Uabu and the soldiers who were with him, they cast into fetters and brought them before me. I . . . . . them and to the *lit*[1] of my (city) gate I tied them.

Against the cities of the Medes (Prism S, Col. IV, ll. 30–35+ Prism B, Col. IV, ll. 1–9)

519. [As for Uppis], chieftain of the city of Partakka, [Zanasana], chieftain of the city of Partukka, [Ramateia], chieftain of the city of Urakazabarna, [Medean cities, whose country lies afar off[1], whose territory, the kings, my fathers, [never invaded], nor trod its soil,—[the fear of the terrible might of Assur, my lord, overcame them[1] . . . . . (*Break in text.*) . . . . . upon them.

[Patusharra, a district[1] on the border of the salt desert, [which lies in the land of the distant Medes], on the edge of Mount Bikni, the lapis-lazuli mountain, the territory of

[1] Cf. § 552.

whose land [not one among the kings, my ancestors], had trodden;—[Shidirparna (and) Epardu[1], powerful chieftains, [who had not submitted[1] to my yoke, these, together with their people, [their riding-horses], cattle, sheep and (Bactrian) camels, [an enormous spoil], I carried off to Assyria.

Against the land of Bâzu (Prism B, Col. IV, ll. 10–26)

520. [The land of Bâzu],[1] a district located afar off, [a desert stretch[1] of alkali (*lit.*, salt-earth), a thirsty region, 140 *bêru* ("double-hours") of sand, thorn-brush and "gazelle-mouth" stones, where serpents and scorpions cover the plain like ants, 20 *bêru* through Mount Hasû, a mountain of *sag-gilmut*-stone,—(these stretches) I left behind me and marched on. That province, to which since days of old, no king, who went before me, had ever come,—at the command of Assur, my lord, I advanced into its midst, victoriously. Kîsu, king of the city of Haldisi (*possibly*, Haldium), Agbaru, king of the city of Ilpiate, Mansaku, king of Magalani, Iapa', queen of the city of Dihrâni, Habisu, king of the city of Kadaba', Niharu, king of the city of Ga'pâni, Bailu(?), queen of the city of Ihilu, Habanamru, king of the city of Buda' (*or*, Gid-da'),—eight kings out of that district I slew. Like grain I heaped up(?) the corpses of their warriors. Their gods, their property and goods, their people, I carried off to Assyria.

Lailê, king of Iadi', who before my arms . . . . . (*Break in text.*)

Summary of military exploits (Prism S, Col. V, ll. 1–26)

521. . . . . who like birds(?) . . . . . In fear their hearts trembled, their . . . . . ⌜shook]. My equal did not exist, [my power] being unrivaled; and among the princes, who went before me, none . . . . . Those who were insolent toward the kings, my fathers, and committed [crimes]

[1] The text of the parallel text, 80, 7—19, 15 (*Hebraica*, IV, 25), reads: "[In my X campaign[1], the land of Bâzu, etc."

. . . . . at the command of Assur, my lord, with my hand [I seized] his strong, stone fortresses, like . . . . . ; the corpses of their warriors I [forbade] to be buried, their heaped-up treasures I carried off to [Assyria]. The gods in whom they trusted, [their] captives, ... like sheep I carried away. Their [warriors], who [had fled] into the midst of the sea to save their lives, none got away before my lance, and none escaped [my weapons]. The nimble ones (*lit.*, open at the knees), who gained the slope of the mountains, like birds I snared them out of the mountain and caught [them in my net]. Their blood, like a broken dam, I caused to flow down the mountain gullies.

522. The Sutû, tent-dwellers, whose home is afar off, like the onset of a mighty storm I tore up by their roots. Those who had made the sea their stronghold, the mountain their strong (defense), none escaped before my lance, not a fugitive got away. Those of the sea I bade to make the mountain their home, those of the mountain, the sea.

523. By command of Assur, my lord: what man was there who contended with me for the kingship? or, who was there among the kings, my fathers, whose rule was as great as mine? From out of the sea my enemies spoke thus: "Where shall a fox go to escape the sun?"

Submission of the Elamite and Kutean princes (*Prism C, Col. V, ll. 27–34*)

524. The haughty Elamite and Kutean princes, who sent (only) words of hatred to the kings, my fathers, heard of the might of Assur, my lord, which I made (to prevail) over all of my foes, and fear and terror were poured out upon them. That I might not advance against the border of their lands, they sent their messengers to Nineveh, into my presence, with "good wishes," and took the oath of (allegiance) by the great gods.[1]

[1] For the building inscription which follows, see §§ 688 f.).

II. PRISM A

525. Prism A, of the British Museum (published in IR, 45 f.; photograph, *British Museum Catalogue*, Plate XLVIII), is the best preserved of the Esarhaddon prisms, only the tops of the columns having suffered slight injury. The text was briefer than that of Prisms S and B—the long Introduction, containing the account of the king's struggle for the throne, is omitted, and, at the end, the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

Introduction (Col. I, ll. 1–9)

526. [Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king] of ⌜Sumer⌝ and Akkad, [son of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king], king of Assyria, [(grand)son of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king], king of Assyria; [who under the protection of Assur⌝, Sin, Shamash, Nabû, Marduk, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the great gods, his lords, made his way from the rising to the setting sun, having no rival.

Overthrow of Abdi-milkutti of Sidon (Col. I, ll. 10–35)

527. Conqueror of Sidon which (lies) in the midst of the sea, destroyer of all its habitations, its walls, yea, its (very) site I tore up and cast into the midst of the sea. The place where it stood I eradicated. Abdi-milkutti, its king, who had fled before my arms into the midst of the sea, I pulled out of the sea, like a fish. I cut off his head. The wealth he had treasured up,—gold, silver, precious stones, elephant hides, ivory, maple and boxwood, garments of brightly colored wool and linen, of every description, the treasure of his palace, I carried off *en masse*. His people, from far and near (*lit.* widespreading), which were countless, (with their) cattle, flocks and asses, I deported to Assyria. I gathered together the kings of the Hittite-land (*i.e.*, Syria) and of the seacoast, all of them; I built a city in another place and called its name Kâr-Assur-ah-iddina (Esarhaddonburg). Conquered

peoples (*lit.*, peoples, the conquest of my bow) from the mountains and sea of the east (rising sun) I settled therein. My official I set over them as governor.

Beheading of Sanduarri and Abdi-milkutti (*Col. I, ll. 36–54*)

528. As for Sanduarri, king of the cities of Kundi and Sizû, a bitter enemy who had no respect for (fear of) my rule, whom the gods forsook so that he sought security in the rugged mountains where Abdi-milkutti, king of Sidon, went to his aid,—they called upon the name of the great gods, one after another, and put their trust in their might. As for me, I put my trust in Assur, my lord. I snared him like a bird from out of the mountain and I cut off his head. That the might of Assur, my lord, might be manifested to (all) peoples, I hung the heads of Sanduarri and Abdi-milkutti on the shoulders of their nobles and with singing and music (*lit.*, singers and musical instruments) I paraded through the public square of Nineveh.

Against Asuhîli of Arzani (*Col. I, l. 55—Col. II, l. 5*)

529. Plunderer of Arzani . . . . . to the River of Egypt . . . . . the rulers thereof I carried to Assyria. Beside the gate inside the city of Nineveh, I bound and kept them along with *asi* (jackals?), dogs and swine.

Against Teushpâ, the Cimmerian, and the people of Hilakku (*Col. II, ll. 6–21*)

530. And Teushpâ, the Cimmerian, a barbarian (*umman manda*) whose home was afar off, I cut down with the sword in the land of Hubushna, together with all of his troops.

531. (I am he) who tramped upon the neck of the people of the lands of Hilakku and Du'ua, who dwelt in the mountains by the borders of Tabal (and) who, trusting in their mountain (fastnesses), had not submitted to the (Assyrian) yoke since days of old,—21 of their strongholds, together with

the small towns of their environs, I besieged, I conquered, I despoiled, I destroyed, I devastated, I set on fire. On the rest of them, who were not guilty of rebellion (*lit.*, sin) and insubordination, I imposed the heavy yoke of my sovereignty.

Overthrow of the Barnakeans, Manneans, and Scythians (Col. II, ll. 22–31)

532. (I am he) who trod under foot the land of Barnaki, a bitter enemy, the inhabitants of Til-Assur, who, in the tongue of the people of Mehranu, are named Pitâneans.

533. (I am he) who shattered the Mannean peoples, intractable barbarians (*Kutû*), who smote with the sword the armies of Ishpakai, the Scythian,—alliance (with them) did not save him.

Suppression of the rebels in the Sea-land (Col. II, ll. 32–41)

534. (I am he) who drove out Nabû-zêr-kitti-lishir, son of Merodach-baladan, who put his trust in the king of Elam but failed to save himself (thereby). Nâ'id-Marduk, his brother, fled out of Elam to make submission to me, came to Nineveh, my royal city, and kissed my feet. The whole of the Sea-land, his brother's principality, I placed under his rule.

Overthrow of Bît-Dakkuri (Col. II, ll. 42–54)

535. (I am he) who overwhelmed the land of Bît-Dakkuri, which is in Chaldea, Babylon's enemy, who captured Shamash-ibni, its king, a felon, outlaw, who did not fear the name of the lord ⌜of lords⌝, (and) who forcibly seized the fields of the inhabitants (*lit.*, sons) of Babylon and Borsippa. Because I was one who knew the fear of Bêl and Nabû I returned those fields once more to the inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa. Nabû-shallim, son of Balasu, I set on his throne and he was my vassal (*lit.*, bore my yoke).

Settlement of the Arabian question (Col. II, l. 55—Col. III, l. 24)

536. Adumu, the fortress of Arabia, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, ⌜the father⌝ who begot me, had captured and ⌜destroyed⌝, [carrying off] the gods [of the king of Arabia] and bringing them to Assyria;—Hazael, king of the Arabs, came to Nineveh, my royal city, with his rich (heavy) gifts, and kissed my feet, imploring me to give (back) his gods. I had mercy upon him and repaired the injuries done to (the images of) those gods, inscribed the might of Assur, my lord, and the characters of my name upon them and gave them back to him. Tabûa, a scion of my palace, I set over them (as queen) and, with her gods, sent her back to her land. 55(?) camels I added to the former tribute (imposed) by my father and laid it upon him. After Hazael had been snatched away by fate, I set Ia'lû, his son, upon his throne and 10 minas of gold, 1,000 precious stones, 50 camels, 1,000 bundles(?) of herbs, I added to his father's tribute and laid it upon him.

Against Bâzu (Col. III, ll. 25–52)

537. Bâzu, a district located afar off, a desert stretch of alkali (*lit.*, salt-earth), a thirsty region:—140 *bêru* ("double-hours") of sand, thorn-brush and "gazelle-mouth" stones, 20 *bêru* of serpents and scorpions, with which the plane was covered (*lit.*, filled) as with ants, 20 *bêru* (through) Mount Hazû, a mountain of *saggilmut*-stone,—(these stretches) I left behind me as I advanced (thither, *i.e.*, to Bazû) where, since earliest days no king before me had come. At the command of Assur, my lord, I marched victoriously into its midst. Eight kings of that province I slew. Their gods, their goods and possessions, as well as their people, I carried off to Assyria.

538. Lailê, king of the city of Iadi', who had taken to his heels before (the approach of) my arms, heard of the car-

rying off of his gods, came to Nineveh, my royal city, into my presence and kissed my feet. I had mercy upon him and spoke his pardon. As for the gods which I had carried off, the might of Assur, my lord, I inscribed upon them, and gave them back to him. That district of Bâzu I placed upon his rule. My royal tribute and tax I imposed upon him.

Against Bêl-ikîsha of Gambulu (*Col. III, l. 52—Col. IV, l. 7*)

539. Bêl-ikîsha, son of Bunani, of the Gambuli, who has his abode 12 *bêru* distant, in the water and cane-brakes, like a fish,—at the command of Assur, my lord, terror fell upon him and of his own initiative (*lit.*, at his own advice) he brought tribute and gifts, fattened oxen, ... and kissed my feet. I took pity on him and restored his confidence (*lit.*, made his heart trustful). Of Sha-pî-Bêl, his stronghold, I strengthened the fortifications and let him and his bowmen take up their residence therein. I made it a locked door toward Elam.

Submission of the Medean cities (*Col. IV, ll. 8–37*)

540. Patusharra, a district on the border of the salt-desert which lies in the land of the distant Medes, on the edge of Mount Bikni, the lapis-lazuli mountain, the soil of whose land not one among the kings, my fathers, had trodden;—Shidirparna and Epardu, powerful chieftains who had not submitted to my yoke,—themselves, together with their people, their riding-horses, cattle, sheep, asses and (Bactrian) camels,—an enormous spoil, I carried off to Assyria. Uppis, chieftain of the city of Partakka, Zanasana, chieftain of the city of Partukka, Ramateia, chieftain of the city of Urakazabarna, (all belonging to) the Medes, whose country lies afar off, who in the time of the kings, my fathers, had never invaded Assyrian territory, nor trodden its soil,—the fear of the terrible might of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed them and mighty steeds, lapis lazuli, the choicest (product) of

his (the) land, they brought to Nineveh, my royal city, and kissed my feet. Because of the (other) chieftains, who had raised their hands against them, they implored my majesty, asking me to be (their) ally. My officers, provincial governors, who were (stationed) on the border of their land, I dispatched with them and they trampled down the inhabitants of those cities, bringing them into submission at their feet. My royal tribute and tax I imposed upon them, yearly.[1]

541. Prism C, of the British Museum (published by Harper, in *Hebraica*, IV, 18 f.), is in the main a duplicate of Prism A. It does not break off abruptly, like A, but has the "blessing" and date at the end. Harper says Col. I is wanting, but the prism, as now restored, has the ends of six lines at the top and parts of eleven lines at the bottom of Col. I. The text of the lower section is easily restored, and is a duplicate of Prism B, Col. II, ll. 16 f. (cf. §§ 509 f.).

III. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS FROM TABLETS CONTAINING PORTIONS OF THE ANNALS

542. The annals of Esarhaddon were inscribed on tablets as well as on prisms, but of the former we possess only fragments. In the following paragraphs the most important ones are translated.

1. K 2671, published by Winckler in *ZA*, II, 299 f., Tafel I, is translated in his *Forschungen*, I, 522 f.

543. . . . . . [to] Nineveh he came and . . . . . he clothed him [in brightly colored garments] and ⌜put on his finger] a golden ring . . . . . he did not say "Woe," he did not become ⌜enraged⌝ . . . . . [In . . . .] he (Nabû-zêr-kitti-lishir) put his trust and mustered his army and camp [against Ningal-iddina, governor of Ur, my obedient servant⌝. He besieged him and cut off [his retreat] . . . . . I set my [army] in order and took the ⌜road to the Sea-land. And that Nabû-zêr-kitti-lishir, son] of Merodach-baladan, the seditious rebel, heard of [the advance of my host] and fled to Elam like a fox. [Because the oath by Assur, his lord⌝, he

[1] Building inscription follows (see §§ 696 f.).

had not kept, they put him to death with the sword in Elam. [Nâ'id-Marduk, his brother], saw what they had done to his brother in Elam and [fled from Elam] and came [to Nineveh], into my presence, and kissed my feet. [The Sea-land in its entirety, the domain of his brother], I put under his control and imposed my royal tribute upon him.

544. [Bêl-ikîsha, son of Bunanu, of the Gambulu-tribe], whose abode was situated [12 *bêru* ("double-hours")] distant in the midst of the marshes and cane-brakes, ... [the brilliance of my sovereignty[1] overwhelmed him, terror fell upon him, [and of his own initiative with . . . .] . . he came into my presence and kissed my feet.

545. [Arzani, which is on the border of the Brook of Egypt, I captured]. Asuhili,[1] its king, who had cast off my yoke, ... them and [brought] (them) to Assyria.

546. [Teushpâ, the Cimmerian, ... I cut down with the sword in the land of] ⌜Hubushna⌝, together with all of ⌜his hosts] . . . . . heavy [tribute] . . . . . .

547. (*Rev.*) . . . . . [Ba'lu, king of Tyre⌝, who dwelt [in the midst of the sea] . . . . . and had thrown off ⌜the yoke of my rule] . . . . . [the might] of Assur, king of the gods, and the splendor of my majesty [overcame him . . . . . .] . . , bowing low, he implored [my] majesty . . . . . his heavy [tribute], his daughters, with [their rich] dowries, ... his . . . . . all that he had withheld (*lit.*, caused to cease) , ... and kissed my feet . . . . . his cities which were on the mainland (*lit.*, dry land)

[1] K 6303 (cf. Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 10 f.) does not, as Winckler supposed, compel us to restore this name to Kunzuhêli, which is a place name, not a personal name. The fragment, which does not necessarily belong to Esarhaddon's reign, follows.

". . . . . I tore down, to their places I restored . . . . . of the land of Kunzuhêli, which . . . . . their kingdom I seized, [their priesthood⌝ . . . . . of Arik-dên-ilu, my ancestor, prefect of Enlil, ... son of Assur-uballit, king of ⌜Assyria], ... was good ⌜in the eyes of her⌝ great [divinity] . . . . . ."

I took away from him and . . . . . established, and turned it to the border of Assyria (*i.e.*, brought it within the Assyrian border). . . . . .

2. Another British Museum text published by Winckler in *ZA*, II, 299 f., Tafel II, is translated by him in *Forschungen*, I, 526 f.

548. (*Obv.*) . . . . . the curse (oath) of the gods . . . . . his . . . . . from out of Elam . . . . . [on . . . . and] ⌜Ummanigash⌝, his brother, I had mercy, the Sea-land . . . . . my royal ⌜tribute⌝, yearly, without cessation, [I imposed upon him].

549. [Bêl-ikîsha, son of Bunanu], of the Gambulu-(tribe), whose [abode is situated] at a distance of 12 *bêru* ("double-hours") in the midst of the marshes [and cane-brakes] . . . . . [the might of Assur], king of the gods, and the brilliance of my royalty overwhelmed him and his heavy tribute, yearly, without ceasing, at the [command(?) of Assur, he brought] . . . . . and of Sha-pî-Bêl, his [strong] city, [I strengthened the fortifications]. Him, together with his bowmen, I had take up their residence therein, and I made it a locked door toward Elam.

550. Arzani, which is on the ⌜border⌝ of the Brook of Egypt, I captured. [Asuhîli, its king, who had thrown off the yoke of my rule, I cast into] ⌜bonds of . . . .] and [with heavy spoil⌝, brought him to Assyria. By [the side of the gate which is inside of the city of Nineveh], I tied him up like(?) a pig, ⌜in chains].

551. (*Rev.*) [As for Hazael, king of Arabia,—the splendor of my majesty] overwhelmed him and with (presents of) gold, silver, precious [stones], he came (*text has*, brought) into my presence and kissed my feet. 55(?) [camels] I added to the ⌜tribute⌝ imposed by my father and laid it upon him. After Hazael [had gone to his fate, Iatâ, his son,] sat upon his throne. And 10 minas of gold, 1,000 precious stones, 50

[camels, 1,000 bundles(?) of herbs], I added to the ⌜tribute⌝ imposed upon his father, and laid it upon him.

552. Uabu, [to gain the kingship], roused all the ⌜Arabs⌝ to rebel against Iatâ, and ⌜I⌝, [Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), who loves righteousness], ⌜whose abomination⌝ is unrighteousness, my bowmen, my horses, my armies [I sent to the aid of Iatâ . . . . . Arabia] I quieted and caused to bow at his feet. Uabu, together with . . . . . I brought [to Assyria]. To the left *lit* of the city gate which is in Nineveh . . . . . ⌜I tied him].

. . . . . Abdi-milkûte, ⌜king of Sidon⌝, [Sanduarri], king of Kundi (and) ⌜Sizzû] . . . . . .

553. 3. Esarhaddon's tenth campaign is given in detail in K 3082, published by Rogers, *Haverford College Studies*, No. 2, pp. 65 f. (see also Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur Altor. Geschichte*, pp. 97 f.).

That . . . . . for the second time . . . . . I caused to sit(?). Ba'lu(?) . . . . Bêl-iddina in the city of Kullimmeri[1] . . . . . inside the Assyrian border I brought it . . . . . my royal tribute I imposed. . . . . .

554. In my tenth campaign . . . . . I took [the road to . . . . . (and) [turned] my face toward the land of . . . . . which in the language of the people of Ethiopia (Kush) and Egypt [is called . . . . .], I mobilized the numerous hosts of Assur which were in . . . . . .

555. In the month of *Nisânu*, the first month, I departed from my city Assur. The Tigris (and) Euphrates I crossed at their flood; over mighty (difficult) mountains I advanced, like a wild-ox.

556. In the course of my campaign I threw up earthworks against Ba'lu, king of Tyre, who had put his trust in his friend Tirhakah (Tarkû), king of Ethiopia, had thrown

[1] For Bêl-iddina, governor of Kulmera, cf. the passages from Johns, *ADD*, cited by Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 58.

off my royal yoke and had sent me insolent (messages). Food and drink (water) (which would) keep them alive, I withheld (*i.e.*, cut off).

557. From Egypt I departed (*lit.*, broke camp), to Meluhha[1] I marched straightaway. (Over) 30 *bêru* ("double-hours") of ground, from the city of Apku, which is on the border of the land of Samena(?), to the city of Rapiki by the side of the Brook of Egypt,—where there is no river!—through (*lit.*, in) . . . . . of distress (and) need, I caused my army to drink well water from pails.

558. (*Rev.*) When the command of Assur, my lord, came to my ears, ... the camels which all of the kings of Arabia had brought . . . . . I put upon them. (Over) 20 *bêru* of ground, a 15 days' journey, before (*or*, in) . . . . . I advanced. (Over) 4 *bêru* of ground, through *GAB-E*-stones, I marched. (Over) 4 *bêru* of ground, a journey of 2 days, two-headed serpents . . . . . died, but I trampled (upon them) and marched on. (Over) 4 *bêru* of ground, a journey of 2 days, (there were) green . . . . . which were provided with (?) wings. (Over) 4 *bêru* of ground, a journey of 2 days . . . . . the upper . . . . . (Over) 15 *bêru* of ground, a journey of 8 days, I advanced . . . . . Marduk, the great lord, came to my aid, ... he kept my troops alive; for 27 days, ... which is on the border of Egypt [toward] Magan (Arabia?), I spent the night . . . . . .

559. From the city of ⌜Magdali⌝ to the city of . . . . . a distance (*lit.*, measurement) of 40 *bêru* of ground, I advanced . . . . . That ground was like stone, all of it(?) . . . . . like the point of a lance, ... blood and ——— ⌜before me(?)⌝ . . . . . the wicked enemy, together with . . . . . to the city of Ishupri(?) . . . . . .

[1] Kush or Ethiopia.

560. 4. The British Museum text, 80—7—19, 15 (published in part by Harper in *Hebraica*, IV, 25, and Rogers, *Haverford College Studies*, No. 2, pp. 65 f.) contained selections from the annals. In the left column (ll. 5–11) there is the account of the expedition against Patusharra, which is an almost exact duplicate of Prism B, Col. IV, ll. 3–23 (cf. §§ 519 f.). In the right-hand (Rogers) column, we have the following account of the battle in Egypt:

561. . . . . the front of my yoke I turned . . . . . On the third day, a rest day . . . . . a feast day of the gods Sarpanit (*A-EDIN*), ... Adad, Bêl, Sharrat(?), Nabû, Nergal, Ishtar of Arbela and . . . . . I raised my hand (in prayer) and they heard my supplication. Like a lion I raged, I put on (my) coat of mail, (my) helmet, emblem of victory, I put on my head. I grasped in my hand the mighty bow, the lance which Assur, king of the gods, had put into my grasp. Like a fierce eagle, with wings outspread (*lit.*, open), in front of ⌜my troops, I went], like a flood, I advanced. The unsparing javelin of Assur, fiercely, swiftly, was let loose (hurled), the gods Shar-ur and Shar-gaz going [at its (my) side].

562. At the command of Assur, king of the gods, my lord, I addressed the great gods and they heard my prayer . . . . .

563. I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria , ... behind their great divinity I advanced. With their aid, like the onset of a raging storm, into their midst I rushed. Their well-organized armies I shattered, the soldiers(?) in front of(?) his brothers, his governors, his . . . . . [from the city[1] of Ishhupri, to the city of Memphis, the great(?) . . . . . .

564. At the command of Assur(?) . . . . . I established . . . . . their . . . . . I butchered like sheep, ... with my terrible weapons, ... they brought out and before the gate . . . . . Tarkû, king of Kush, ... to save themselves(?) his servants . . . . . .

565. 5. A brief résumé of Esarhaddon's campaigns was contained in the British Museum tablet, 83-1-18,483, published in transliteration by Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 8 f.

566. . . . . . [the land of Bâzu, a district] far removed, ... [I besieged], I carried off its spoil. [Uppis, chieftain of the city of Partakka, Zanasana, chieftain of the city of Paratukka, [Ramateia, chieftain of Urakazabarna, cities of the Medes], whose country lies afar off, ... ⌜mighty steeds], lapis lazuli, ⌜the choicest product⌝ of his (the) [land], ... they kissed my feet . . . . . I imposed upon them.

567. [Patusharra] . . . . . which is on the edge of Mount Bikni . . . . . powerful ⌜chieftains⌝ . . . . . I counted their . . . . .

568. (*Rev.*) . . . . . like cucumbers . . . . . horses . . . . . of Ethiopia (Kush), the man of Meluhha, among . . . . . which he invited to his side, ... a place of difficulty . . . . . .

568 A. The following fragmentary texts in the British Museum may also be assigned to the reign of Esarhaddon. They were also transliterated and translated by Winckler in his *Forschungen.*

6. K 8544 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, 532 f.):

569. . . . . . by causing (them) to tread the ramp (bridge), ... their ⌜heavy⌝ tribute . . . . . the city of Kapânu and . . . . . the place of her treasure . . . . . ⌜queen⌝ of Arabia, together with ⌜her gods⌝ . . . . . *UD-ASH*-stones, ... stones, ... all kinds of shrubs (herbs) . . . . . and kings . . . . . ⌜I carried off⌝, those cities . . . . . in Nineveh, ... alabaster, limestone . . . . . beams of cypress . . . . . silver, copper, [bronze(?)] . . . . . booty . . . . . .

570. (*Rev.*) . . . . . they(?) carried off . . . . . ⌜behind him(?)⌝ they took the road . . . . . like swine . . . .

. . . . . strong cities . . . . . the city of . . . . . .-akku I besieged, I captured, ⌜I carried off its spoil] . . . . . fear fell upon him, ... the city of Haidala, ... before my [arms] they fled . . . . . , his [royal city] I captured and its ⌜spoil I carried off] . . . . . ⌜king⌝ of Elam, and . . . . . .

7. Rm 284 (Winckler, *ibid.*, II, 17 f.):

571. . . . . encouraged me and . . . . . stood at my side . . . . . .—*lu makûtu sha lika*— . . . . . the great gods, all there were, ... Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, ... the great . . . . . of the gods, king of the upper and ⌜lower⌝ land, ... in the womb of the mother who bore me, ... all(?) lands . . . . . the heart(?) of Assur they named and . . . . . Ethiopia (Kush), which none among my fathers . . . . . had not sent, had not returned . . . . . where no bird rests(?) . . . . . .

8. Rm 283 (Winckler, *ibid.*, pp. 19 f.):

572. . . . . and the great one(?) of my fathers . . . . . who [brought] its tribute yearly, ... trusted; like (that of) the eagle, their (his) abode was located on the slope of the mountain . . . . . his towns, his host was organized(?), his forces . . . . . Nabû, Sin, Ishtar, Nergal, who go at my side . . . . . the onrush of the army(?), in the call to battle, ... they took(?), dues(?), through having no sense, they forgot (neglected) . . . . . of royalty, together with all of his widespreading hosts, ... to fight his battle, together with horses, mules, broken to the yoke, ... they laid hold of my royal [feet], they implored my majesty . . . . . the lands of . . . . . -mash and Dilmun, whose place is afar off, and no . . . . . .

IV. THE SENJIRLI STELE

573. One of the most important remains from Esarhaddon's reign is the victory stele he set up in Northern Syria. This monument, found in 1888 at Senjirli, represents the king with a cup in his right hand—from which he had poured his libation to the gods symbolized at the top of the stele—and a mace in his left. From the left hand extend the ropes ("reins") which pass through the lips of the two figures at his feet. The first of these figures is clearly Tirhakah, who is represented with strongly marked negroid features.[1] His hands and feet are shackled, and he is on his knees with hands lifted in supplication. The other, standing, figure may be Ba'alu of Tyre. He is also lifting his manacled hands in supplication.

The text and photograph, together with transliteration and translation, first appeared in *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, Vol. I. A revised edition of the text is given in *VS*, I, No. 78.

574. (To) Assur, father of the gods, lover of my priesthood, Anu, mighty (and) pre-eminent, who called me by name, Bêl, the exalted lord, establisher of my dynasty, Ea, the wise, the (all)-knowing, who determines my destiny, Sin, the shining luminary, who grants me favorable signs (omens), Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, who decides my decisions, Adad, the powerful lord, who makes my armies prosper, Marduk, sovereign lord of the Igigi and Anunnaki, who makes great my kingship, Ishtar, lady of battle and combat, who goes at my side, the Seven, the warrior gods, who overthrow my foes, the great gods, all of them, who determine my destiny, who grant to the king, their favorite, power (and) might:

575. Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of Karduniash (Babylonia), all of it (*lit.*, them), king of the kings of Musur, Paturisu and Kûsi (Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt and Ethiopia); who fears ⌜their (the gods')⌝[1] mighty [godhead], exalted despot [of

[1] The only other possibility is that Tirhakah's son, Ushanahuru, who was captured and taken to Assyria, is meant.

Assur, Shamash], Nabû [and Marduk[1], king of kings, the unsparing, who consumes the wicked, who is clothed in terror, who is fearless in battle, the perfect hero, who is unsparing in the fight, the all-powerful prince, who holds the reins of princes, the fierce hound, avenger of the father who begot him, the king, who with the help of Assur, Shamash, Nabû and Marduk, the gods, his allies, walks aright and attains to his desires,—all who were not obedient to him, the princes who did not submit to him, like a reed of the brake, he has snapped and trodden them under his feet; who provides abundant offerings for the great gods, whose [thought is of] the worship (fear) of gods and goddesses. . . . . .

576. (*Rev. At least one line gone.*) . . . . . [builder] of the temple of Assur, who completed its adornment, restorer of Esagila and Babylon, who carried out (every detail) of its cult, who returned the captive people of the lands out of . . . . . to their places (*i.e.*, homes); the king, the offering of whose sacrifices the great gods love, and whose priesthood [in the temples[1] they have established for all time;—their unsparing weapons they have presented him as a royal gift; the king, whose sovereignty the lord of lords, Marduk, has made great, far above (that of) the kings of the four regions (of the earth,) who has brought all the lands in submission at his feet, who has imposed tribute and tax upon them; conqueror of his foes, destroyer of his enemies, the king, who as to his walk is a storm, and as to his deeds, a raging wolf; before him is a storm (*lit.*, storm-demon), behind him a cloudburst (downpour); the onset of his battle is powerful, he is a consuming flame, a fire that does not die down (sink): son of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)-son of Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; (of) the eternal seed of priesthood, of (the line) of Bêl-bâni, son of Adasi, who established the kingdom of Assyria, who, at the command of

Assur, Shamash, Nabû and Marduk, the great gods, his lords, ended (*lit.*, overthrew) the servitude of the city of Assur, (am I).

577. I am powerful, I am all powerful, I am a hero, I am gigantic, I am colossal, I am honored, I am magnified, I am without an equal among all kings, the chosen one of Assur, Nabû and Marduk, called of Sin, favorite of Anu, beloved of the queen, Ishtar, goddess of all (the world); the unsparing weapon, which utterly destroys the enemy's land, am I.

578. The king, powerful in battle and combat, destroyer of the habitations of his foes, who kills his enemies, extirpates his opponents, brings into submission those who were not submissive to him, who has brought under his sway the totality of all peoples, to whom Assur, Shamash, Nabû and Marduk, my exalted lords, whose word is not altered, predestined as my lot an unrivaled kingdom, (while) Ishtar, the lady, lover of my priesthood, made my hands to grasp a powerful bow, a mighty lance, which brings low the faithless, caused me to attain to the desire of my heart, and brought in submission at my feet all the unsubmissive princes.

579. When Assur, the great lord, in order to show to the peoples the immensity of my mighty deeds, extended (*lit.*, made powerful) my kingship over the kings of the four regions (of the world), and made great my name; (when) he caused my hands to bear a stern scepter, for the annihilation of my foes, the land[1] sinned against Assur, they treated (him) with scorn, they rebelled. To rob, to plunder, to extend the border of Assyria, they (the gods) empowered me (*lit.*, filled my hands). After Assur and the great gods, my lords, commanded me to march over distant roads, wearying mountains and mighty (desert) sands, thirsty regions,—with trusting heart, I marched in safety.

580. Of Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia (Kush),

[1] The western provinces, including Egypt?

the accursed of their great godhead, from Ishhupri to Memphis, his royal city,—15 days' march (was) the ground (covered)—daily, without cessation I slew multitudes of his men, and him I smote five times with the point of my javelin, with wounds (from which there was) no recovery. Memphis, his royal city, in half a day, with mines, tunnels, assaults, I besieged, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. His queen (*lit.*, woman of his palace), his harem, Ushanahuru, his heir (*lit.*, son of his begetting), and the rest of his sons and daughters, his property and his goods, his horses, his cattle, his sheep, in countless numbers, I carried off to Assyria. The root of Ethiopia (Kush) I tore up out of Egypt and not one therein escaped to submit to me. Over all of Egypt I appointed anew kings, viceroys, governors, commandants, overseers (and) scribes. Offerings and fixed dues I established for Assur and the great gods for all time; my royal tribute and tax, yearly without ceasing, I imposed upon them. I had a stele made with my name inscribed (thereon) and on it I caused to be written the glory of the valor of Assur, my lord, my mighty deeds,—how I went to and fro under the protection of Assur, my lord, and the might of my conquering hand. For the gaze of all my foes, to the end of days, I set it up.

581. Whoever shall destroy that stele from its place, or shall blot out my inscribed name, and shall write his name (thereon instead), or shall cover it with dust, or cast it into the water, or burn it in the fire, or put it in some place where it cannot be seen,—may Ishtar, lady of combat and battle, destroy his virility (manhood), (so that he shall be) like a woman, may she cause him to sit in bonds under (the feet) of his foes. May the future prince look upon the stele with my name inscribed (thereon), may they read it before him, may he anoint it with oil, may he pour out libations, may he magnify the name of Assur, my lord.

V. THE DOG RIVER STELE

582. The second monument commemorating the victory over Tirhakah which has survived is that carved on the walls of the Dog River, near Beirut. It is the only one of the six Assyrian steles there found that has any legible inscription. In *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb* (pp. 27 f. and Plates XI–XII), Weissbach has published the badly weathered text. This work of Weissbach's disposes of the oft-repeated assertion that the Dog River text was in the main identical with that of the Senjirli stele.

583. [To Assur, Anu, Enlil], Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Marduk, [Ishtar, the Seven, the great gods], all of them, who decree the destiny [of the kings whom they favor], granting (them) power and might: [Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty[1] king, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, [king of Sumer and Akkad, king] of Karduniash—all of those lands, king of the kings [of Egypt, Paturisu] and Kush, king of the four regions (of the world), son of Sennacherib, [the great king, the mighty king[1], king of the universe, king of Assyria.

584. Amidst gladness and rejoicing I entered Memphis, the royal city [of Tirhakah] . . . . . which was covered with gold, I sat down amidst jubilation . . . . . weapons . . . . . gifts(?) of gold, silver . . . . . thereafter . . . . . Its palace, its gods, its goddesses, which Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, together with their property, ... as booty I counted.

585. His queen, his harem, Ushanahuru, his heir, ... his courtiers, ... property . . . . . of mountain stone, ivory, ... whose (*fem.*) (were of) gold, ... their (*fem.*) exits(?) . . . . . vessels of gold, silver, precious stones of all kinds . . . . . of the palace, which . . . . . not, ... cunningly constructed, I opened. Chests(?) . . . . . tables(?) . . . . . his royal . . . . . the king . . . . . they left for(?) them, with 16 . . . . . 30 tiaras of the harem women, ... stone, ...

brick . . . . . in great quantities . . . . . .
The treasures of gold, silver, antimony . . . . . .
which like . . . . . bronze, lead, magnesium, ivory
. . . . . the property of the Sutû people(?) . . .
. . . . . his son-in-law, his family . . . . . .
the princes, ... physicians, seers . . . . . .
. . . . . lapidary, goldsmith . . . . . the son
of Bin-zuki(?), ... of Tirhakah to their
strongholds . . . . . .

VI. TREATY WITH BA'ALU OF TYRE

586. The Senjirli stele and the Dog River inscription were intended, no doubt, to impress upon Syria and Egypt the power and might of Assur and his viceroy, the Assyrian king. But the Assyrians could not rule with the sword alone. The Old Testament and the North Syrian inscriptions (from Senjirli) make clear the political strategy employed by the conqueror to hold his empire together. Two documents from Esarhaddon's archives furnish us with interesting details. The first, the treaty with Ba'alu of Tyre, was given in transliteration by Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 10 f. (K 3500, K 4444, and K 10235). For the second, see §§592f.

587. . . . . Ishtar . . . . . your . . . . . may
the goddess Gula, the great healer . . . . . your . . . . . .
[place] a distressing illness into ⌜your⌝ bodies . . . . . may
the Seven, the warrior-gods, ⌜defeat you⌝ with ⌜their⌝ arms,
may the gods Baiti-ilê and Anati(?), the . . . . [give] you into
the paws (*lit.*, hands) of a hungry lion, may the great gods of
heaven and earth, the gods of Assyria and Akkad, the gods
of the other side of the river (*Ebir nâri*), curse you with a
curse that cannot be dissolved, may Baal-sameme and Baal-
malagê, Baal-sapunu, let loose an evil wind upon your ships,
tear their rigging, carry away their masts,—may a heavy sea
swamp them with [its waves], may the raging floods [break]
over them; may the gods Milkili(?)[1] and Yasumunu give

[1] Winckler gives Milgishu, but both of the last syllables are doubtful.

over your land to destruction, your people to spoliation, from your land [may they drive you], the food in your mouths, the crumb(s) on your person, the oil of your anointing, may they destroy; may . . . . . in the fierce battle break (*lit.*, finish) your bows, under the ⌜feet of your foes] may he(?) put you; may the foe, the stranger, divide ⌜your spoil⌝.

The tablet . . . . . set up(?), belonging to(?) Baalu of Tyre. . . . . .

588. (*Col. II*) . . . . . their . . . . . Esarhaddon, king of [Assyria], ... thereon . . . . . before thee . . . . . the old men of thy land in . . . . . the mayors with them . . . . . ships . . . . . [1] . . . . . and the letter(?) which I sent to you by . . . . . of the mayors(?), do not . . . . . If the mayor . . . . . thou shalt obey him, thou shalt open . . . . . in them.

589. If a ship of Baalu, or of the people of Arpad, in Philistia or on any border of Assyria, you capture (*lit.*, smite), everything which is in his (the) ship, belongs to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, but the people, all among them who have not sinned(?), let their names be . . . . . .

590. These are the road regulations(?) which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, issued to Baalu, the cities of Arpad (and) . . . . . to the cities of Acre (Akû) and Dor (Du'ri) in the province of Philistia . . . . . and to the cities on the border of Assyria, which are on the seacoast, all of them, and Gebail (Gubla, Byblos), Mount Lebanon, the cities which are in the mountain, all of them, every one of the cities [of(?)] Esarhaddon, king of Assyria,—Baalu, the cities . . . . . the Tyrean, the garrisons(?) of (*or*, which) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria . . . . . in their ships, and every one that enters into the cities of [Baalu(?)] . . . . . the

[1] Almost all of the signs given by Winckler in ll. 4 and 5 and 9–11, are doubtful.

cities, his towns(?), his burgs (strongholds), which for the bearing of . . . . . all whose(?) ———, like those in . . . . . had been destroyed, ... in their ships has not sinned(?), in [his land], in his province, his towns, let this letter [be read]. According to the . . . . . of the land of ⌜Sidon⌝ . . . . . .

591. ⌜Letter(?)⌝ of ⌜Esarhaddon⌝, [king] of Assyria, the oldest son of [Sennacherib to Baalu⌝, king of the land of Tyre after (?) . . . . . -shu, oldest son(?). . . . . .

VII. A LETTER TO THE GOD ASSUR

592. In what was evidently a letter to the god Assur, similar to the one in which Sargon reported his eighth campaign to his god (§§ 139 f.), Esarhaddon gives an account of his dealings with Shupria (text, in transliteration, by Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 28 f. [K 2852 and K 9662]). A fragment of another text (K 7599) covering the same events is given in *op. cit.*, I, 530 ff.

593. 1. (*Col. I*) That one heard my royal dispatch, which like a flame consumes my foe, and his right hand was . . . . . his heart was "seized," his limbs trembled, he tore off his royal garment and with the (*bashamu*), the garment of a sinner, he wrapped his body, his countenance he made evil, so that he was like a slave, and with his servants he counted himself. With earnest petitions, with face flattened (on the ground), bowing low, upon the wall of his city, (he uttered cries of) "Woe," weeping bitterly. He confessed his sins and implored my majesty, the power of Assur, my lord, the glory of my valor, crying for mercy. Thus he addressed (a message) to me, saying: "A king whose confinement(?) is unjust, who has been robbed of his goods, a trustful ruler, who has looked after the well-being of his camp, (and) the strength of his armies, whose onset cannot be ⌜withstood⌝, skilled in battle, ——— in the fight, powerful in the work of the hand(?),

whose arms Assur made powerful above (those) of the kings his fathers, lifts his hands to thee(?), saying: 'Let Shupria, the land that sinned against thee, be attentive to thy beck (*lit.*, look upon thy face); thy official place over them, let them bear (draw) thy yoke. Tribute and tax, yearly, without ceasing, lay upon them. I am a thief, and for the sin I have committed, fifty times will I make good what was carried off. For one fugitive, runaway Assyrian, I will make a hundred-fold return. Spare my life, and let me magnify the glory of Assur, let me extol thy valor.

594. " 'Whoever is negligent toward Assur, king of the gods, does not listen to the command of Esarhaddon, king of the universe, his lord, does not return the fugitive, runaway Assyrian to his lord,—in my hands let me see him!

" 'Furthermore: The nobles, my counselors, have plotted unsuccessful(?) insurrection against me.

595. " 'It was a grievous sin which I committed against the god Assur, when I did not listen to the word of the king, my lord, (when) I did not return to thee the Assyrians, thy servants, and (so) failed to benefit myself. The oath (*lit.*, curse) of the great gods which I violated, the word of thy majesty which I despised, they have overtaken me. Let me quiet thy angry heart. Have mercy upon me, and absolve my guilt.' "

596. [As for me], Esarhaddon, the mighty king, whose word is unalterable, whose lordly command cannot be nullified (destroyed), who before unsheathed weapons and the mighty battle-onset does not turn back, who never turned aside from the kings of all his foes, whose battle no king has withstood, before whom no prince has stood as a rival in the fight,—thus I addressed him, saying: "When did you listen to the command of a mighty king a second time?[1] But I, an all-powerful king, have addressed (my word) to thee the third

[1] *I.e.*, "What king would give you a second chance to disregard his commands?"

time and you have not listened to the words of my lips. Before the . . . . . of my soul you were not afraid, so you did not bother; you have brought (compelled) me [to wage] battle and warfare, the fierce weapons of Assur you have aroused from their places."

597. To his supplications I did not give ear, his prayers I did not heed (*lit.*, accept), his petitions I did not receive, and "the turning(?) of the neck" I did not turn to him (*i.e.*, I did not take notice of him), my enraged soul (*lit.*, liver) was not appeased (quieted), my angry heart was not calmed. I did not take pity on him and I did not speak his pardon.

598. And (as for) Ubbume, his royal city, resting (situated) on top of a mighty mountain like a cloud,—a ramp made by piling up earth and stones with much toil and labor (*lit.*, painfully and wearily) against his city for its capture (?*or*, destruction?), I constructed.

(*Rest of column gone.*)

599. (*Col. II*) While I was going about in that province victoriously, the ramp which I had caused them to throw up (*lit.*, to tramp) against Ubbume, his royal city, in the month of *Kislimu*, the twenty-first day, an evil day, bad for doing (anything), a "child" of the *asakku*-disease, in the middle(?) of the night, that ramp was suddenly ——— and they set fire (to it).

600. At the command of Marduk, king of the gods, the north wind blew hard and, the counsel of the lord of the gods being favorable (*lit.*, good), the tongue of the devouring flame was turned toward Ubbume and the ramp was ⌜not injured]. But its (the city's) wall caught fire and burned up. [My armies], eager to(?) wage battle and combat, rushed out, like . . . . . was their onset, their (the city's defenders') defeat they accomplished. . . . . their . . . . . their skulls(?) they built into pyramids. . . . . they hung and surrounded their city with them.

601. [After] I had conquered the lands that had revolted against me and had attained to my heart's desire, ... I marched, and over against Ubbume I set up my camp . . . . . the ramp which I had caused them to throw up (*lit.*, tramp) against it,—(of the one) who had given [an evil counsel] and had lost (forfeited) his life, to . . . . . they returned and laid waste his towns, and . . . . . and they shattered his organized armies. An image of himself he had them make, he clothed it with the *bashamu*-garment, fetters of iron he put upon it, and with the marks of slavery he . . . . . [An] . . . . of stone, he fashioned, of the workmanship of the masons, the likeness of the skin . . . . . of ruddy gold he tore off(?) and put it into the hands of Sheirsibku and—gi-Teshub, his sons.

602. That I might have mercy and spare his life, they brought it out to me. Thus they spoke: ". . . . . unspeakable harm, to disease . . . . . to honor. . . . . ."

603. As for me, the [powerful, the conqueror] of all my mighty, insubmissive foes, [thus I spoke:] . . . . . "Those who do not fear shall be afraid of thy lordship." Thus I sent word to him; ". . . . these words . . . . . like . . . . . after thy sacrifices, thou shalt pour out water, like . . . . . after the rain of heaven, thou shalt rain *zabu*, thou shalt speak(?) . . . . . The word of the deity is not spoken a second time.

604. "Thy days are fulfilled, thy hour has come, the (appointed) time has drawn near, ... from the mouth of the gods of heaven and earth, ... has gone forth (the command) for the destruction of thy land, [by command of . . . .], which does not change, there was ordered the captivity of thy people" . . . . . subjugate and (in) a place which is not ruined . . . . . quiet the heart of Assur, king of the gods . . . . . did

not turn back . . . . . the word of their mouth . . . . I did not speak his pardon.

(*Rest of column gone.*)

(*Col. III*) (*Top of column gone.*)

. . . . . of . . . . . .

(*Blank space.*)

605. . . . . its spoil . . . . . before me they brought.

(*Blank space followed by ruling.*)

606. . . . . which against(?) the entrance (into) the land . . . . . from Shupria, Sheirsibku . . . . . for Assur, Ninlil, Sherûa, ... Urta, Gula, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Nusku, [the gods] who go at my [side] and in . . . . . who cause me to attain to my heart's desire, as a gift he presented. In addition(?) . . . . . broken(?), the waging of battle and combat, not . . . . . I selected(?), I searched out, and to my royal host I joined it. In addition(?) . . . . . the charioteers(?) of the bodyguard(?), cavalry of the bodyguard(?), governors, many of them(?), chiefs (captains) (of?) the bowmen (*kitkittu*), the workmen, the sappers, the shield-(bearers), the "killers," the farmers, the shepherds, the gardeners, to the masses of Assur's hosts and to the (military) establishment of the former kings, my fathers, in large numbers, I added and Assyria, to its farthest border, I filled up like a quiver. The rest of ⌜them⌝ among (*lit.*, to) my palaces and my nobles, employed(?) in my palace, and the citizens of Nineveh, Calah, Kakzu (and) Arbela, I apportioned like sheep. The fugitive, the runaway, all who had deserted their masters and fled to Shupria,—their fingers I cut off, their noses, eyes and ears I "took away" from them. [Those who] . . . . . to another land had not fled, I laid upon them a . . . . . penalty . . . . . and they were glad, they were joyful, they blessed my majesty. . . . . .

607. . . . . , Urarteans, who had fled from Urartu to Shupria, [about whom Rusâ[1], king of Urartu, had written, and he (the Shuprite) had not listened to his word, ... that he would never pay (give) . . . . . he had written him(?), basely, and had made a hostile answer. ⌜After⌝ I had conquered Shupria, with the aid of Assur, my lord, and had counted its people as spoil, (because) the gods had granted to me justice and righteousness, (to see) that oaths should be kept, I made inquiries concerning those people, I examined, I investigated, I searched and not a single Urartean fugitive did I withhold,—none escaped, but I returned them to their land. . . . . cattle, lambs, for the sacrifices to my lords, and for my royal table, in Assyria,—a goodly fare, I divided(?).

(*Col. IV*) (*Top of column gone.*)

608. I made splendid (*lit.*, bright?) . . . . . those cities, which in the might of Assur . . . . . I had destroyed, devastated and burned with fire . . . . . when, at the command of Assur, my lord, I returned and . . . . . those cities from their foundation to their tops I restored. Of the cities Kulimmeri, Markuha, Kakzu, I changed the old (*lit.*, former) names, and gave them new names. People, the plunder of my bow, of the upper and lower seas, therein I settled. That land, in its totality, the second time I divided, and two of my officials as governors I set over them.

609. Words of highest praise for So-and-so (*space left for name*) to Assur, my lord, I brought.

610. One charioteer, 2 cavalrymen, 3 sappers were slain. (*space*) For their remembrance (*a few blank lines*).

611. The cities of Assur-mâtsu-utir, Mannu-shanin-Assur, Abit-Assur-la-teni, Abit-sharri-la-teni, Mannu-lishissu, Kunush-la-kanshu, Linir-ai-imdi, Amirshu-lige(?), Munirrit-nakiri(?), Kashidsu-lilbur, Sabitsu-⌜likun⌝, Lilbur-munih-Assur, Dûr-Assur-ah-iddina, Shanini-ai-irrub(?), ⌜Arku⌝-

amat-shar-kishshati, Piluhma-mâtika-shallim, La-iplah(?)-mâtsu-ihpi, Assur-inar-garûa, ⌜Assur-nîrshu⌝-lurappish, Assur-nîrka-rappish.

(*On edge were six lines, of which only a few wedges are legible.*)

612. 2. (K 7599) . . . . . who did not revere (*lit.*, guard) the name of Assur, king of the gods, did not fear my sovereignty . . . . . who did not render service, the robber, the thief, or whoever had committed a crime (sin), had shed blood, ... the governor(s), scribes (secretaries), superintendents, constables, fled to the land of Shupria . . . . . thus I wrote him: "As for these people let the *nâgiru* ('official') make proclamation in thy land . . . . . gather them together, let not a single man escape, ... of Nergal, (and) the great Lady, bring them into the temple . . . . . the message(?) of the saving of their lives, ..."

With my messenger, when(?) he(?) took the road to Assyria and . . . . . favorable . . . . of the saving of his life . . . . . Assyrians, subjects of mine, I . . . . before him . . . . . with *urini*, by the hand of my messenger . . . . . they answered him, they told me . . . . . was enraged, ... ⌜my lordship they feared.⌝

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

613. Below are given the so-called will of Sennacherib and another document which may come from Esarhaddon's reign. The text of the first is found in IR, 16, 3 (cf. Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 55, and Johns, *ADD*, IV, 129).

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria. Rings of silver, with an inlay of ivory, a tiara (*agû*) of gold, *gâgi* of gold, rings, a *shâgan*-garment, among these presents (*lit.*, favors), (she), who bore him, both of us received, 1 *UD-ASH-ASH*-stone, a *iaku*-stone, 1½ minas, 2½ shekels, was

their weight, to Esarhaddon, my son, who hereafter is named Assur-etil-mukîn-apla, as my "nearest" I have given. Booty of Bît-Anuk. They *nirgalzu* is our light, O Nabû.

2. K 2745 (cf. Meissner-Rost, *BA*, III, 208 ff.):

614. (*Col. I*[?]) . . . . . [king of Assyria, son of Sargon], [king of the universe], [king of Assyria] . . . x male [wild-oxen(?)], mighty ones, ... to him and . . . . . Shamash . . . . . Marduk . . . . . .

615. (*Col. II*[?]) who cast down . . . . . (and) put bridles upon the kings of the four regions (of the world). The people of the lands, the conquered enemies, the plunder of his bow, which he presented to me as my royal gift, those I caused to carry the basket and headpad and to mold bricks. Some . . . . . -land in the midst of the city of Nineveh, in the square of Sin and Shamash, for a royal . . . . . .

616. (*Col. III*[?]) [Beams of cedar, etc.] I stretched over it. High door-leaves of cypress, the gift of my son, I hung in its doors. That house I built, I completed, with luxury I filled it. Assur, Mashmash (Urta?) Sin, Shamash, Adad and Ishtar, Nabû and Marduk, the gods who dwell in Nineveh, into its midst ⌜I invited. Before⌝ them ⌜I offered⌝ splendid, holy sacrifices. . . . . .

IX. A COLLECTION OF ORACLES

617. The following well-known document has been included in this volume of translations because of the interesting light it throws upon the religious psychology of Esarhaddon. The text is published in IVR, Plate 61.

618. (*Col. I*) [Esarhaddon], king of lands, fear not. There blows the wind which threatens(?) thee, whose violence I have not ———. Thy enemies, like the wild boar (*lit.*, boar of the reeds) of the month of *Simânu*, shall run away before thee (*lit.*, thy feet). The great Lady am I. I am Ishtar of

Arbela, who has destroyed thy foes before thee (*lit.*, thy feet). What words of mine which I spoke to thee couldst thou not rely upon? I am Ishtar of Arbela, thy foes I will flay and give them to thee. I, Ishtar of Arbela, before thee, behind thee, will I go; fear not. Thou art in the midst of ———. I, in the midst of distress will come and sit down.

619. By the mouth of Ishtar-la-tashiat, of Arbela.

620. O king of Assyria, fear not, the enemy of the king of Assyria I will give to the butcher. In thy *bît-ridûti*, ... to thee . . . . thee . . . . . the great Lady, am I . . . . . .

(*Col. II*) . . . . . Nabû(?) . . . . . in . . . . . in . . . . . thy foe . . . . . single, Nabû . . . . . will be your support, will not . . . . . .

621. By the mouth of Sinkisha-amur, of (*lit.*, daughter of) Arbela.

622. I rejoice with Esarhaddon, my king. Rejoice, Arbela.

623. By the mouth of Rimute-Allate, of the city of Darâhûia, which is in the mountains.

624. Fear not, Esarhaddon, it is I, the Lord (Bêl), who is speaking with thee, the "beams" of thy heart I will strengthen, like thy mother, who brought thee into existence.

625. Sixty great gods are with me; as long as thou livest they will guard thee. Sin is at thy right, Shamash at thy left. Sixty great gods round thee stand, in thy battle(?) they are joining. Put not thy trust in men, raise thine eyes, look upon me, me; I am Ishtar of Arbela. Assur is well disposed toward thee. In thy childhood I ——— thee. Fear not. Honor me.

626. Where is that foe which threatens thee? It is I who is speaking. The end shall be as the beginning.

627. I am Nabû, lord of the stylus (*lit.*, tablet-reed); honor me.

628. By the mouth of Baiâ of Arbela.

629. (*Col. III*) (*Only a few lines of the first oracle* [*ll. 1–14*] *preserved.*)

I am Ishtar of Assur. O Esarhaddon, king of Assyria: In the cities of Assur, Nineveh, Calah (Kalhu) (and) Arbela, many days (*lit.*, future days), long (enduring) years, to Esarhaddon, my king, I will give. Thy great protector(?) am I, the one who rescues thee from defeat(?), am I; (the one) who, for many days (and) long years, has established thy throne under the great heaven. In a chamber(?) of gold, in the midst of heaven I will make it firm. The light of the *elmeshu*-(stone) before Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, I will cause to shine. Like the tiara of my head, I will make it firm. Fear not, O king, I am addressing thee. I will not cast thee aside. I will be thy support, I will not put thee to shame(?). I will take thee across the stream in safety(?). O Esarhaddon, rightful heir, son of Ninlil, like ———(?) with my hands I will make an end of thy foes.

630. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, a cup which is full of *kilte*, a *kalapu* which is full of ———. O Esarhaddon, in Assur, many days, long years, will I give thee. O Esarhaddon, in Arbela, thy shield will I . . . . . .

631. O Esarhaddon, rightful heir, son of Ninlil, I think(?) [thy] thoughts, I love thee very much. In my(?) anger, in the great heavens, I . . . . . At thy right I will let smoke arise, on thy left, fire burn. A kingdom over . . . . . .
. . . . . .

632. (*Col. V*) . . . . . from before him he shall not receive. Those who speak soothing words of incantation(?), before his feet I will cut them down. Thou, yea, thou, O king, my king, art thou.

633. By the mouth of Ishtar-bêl-daini, the ——— of the king.

634. I am Bêlit of Arbela. To the mother of the king: "Since thou dost call me to account for(?) what on the right

and what on the left thou dost keep in thy bosom, saying: 'Where on the plain hast thou stretched the offspring of my body?' " The answer is: "O king, fear not, the kingdom I am bestowing(?), might I am bestowing(?)."

635. By the mouth of Bêlit-abisha, of Arbela.

636. A greeting to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, (from) Ishtar of Arbela. To the plain thou shalt go out. A greeting to her ⌜son⌝. To the citadel of the city thou shalt send. . . . . .
. . . . . .

(*Only few signs left.*)

637. (*Col. VI*) [A greeting to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria⌝, (from) [Ishtar of Arbela⌝. . . . . good . . .
. . . (with which) [Ishtar] of Arbela has filled his ———. The former word which I spoke, thou didst not stand by it (*lit.*, on it). Now by (this)latter (word) thou shalt stand. Honor me. As the day becomes bright (*lit.*, white) let them lift up my *zikâti*. In my presence, honor me. The . . . . . from the midst of my palace I have brought out. Food that is prepared thou shalt eat, water that is provided thou shalt drink. In the midst of thy palace thou shalt be well provided for, thy sons (and) thy grandsons shall exercise sovereignty in the ——— of Urta (*or*, the gods).

638. By the mouth of La-dagil-ilu, of Arbela.

CHAPTER VIII

ESARHADDON; THE BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

I. RESTORATION OF BABYLON

639. The restoration of Babylon, which Sennacherib had so ruthlessly destroyed, was one of the main "planks" in the "platform" of his son and successor. A number of monuments, dated in the year of accession, show that Esarhaddon was quite serious in the matter of placating the Babylonian part of his empire. Of course, it would not have been wise to state boldly that he intended to restore what his father had destroyed. So we have the god's anger with his city assigned as the cause of the city's devastation. Seventy[1] years, as the period of its desolation, was written down by Marduk (in the Book of Fate). "But the merciful Marduk—in a moment his heart was appeased—turned it [the book] upside down, and for the eleventh year ordered its restoration." The Babylonian numeral "70," turned upside down or reversed, becomes "11," just as our printed "9," turned upside down, becomes "6."

1. THE BLACK STONE

640. The black basalt memorial stone of Esarhaddon, presented to the British Museum by the Earl of Aberdeen in 1861, was published the following year in the first of Rawlinson's folios (IR, 49 f.).[2]

641. (*Col. I*) Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, the exalted prince, worshiper of Nabû and Marduk:

642. Before my time, in the reign of an earlier king, there befell evil days (*lit.*, signs, omens) in Sumer and Akkad. The people who dwelt in Shuanna (Babylon) split into factions (*lit.*, answered each other "nay"), ⌜plotting rebellion⌝

[1] A new study of the texts in the British Museum has made the reading certain; cf. *AJSL*, XLI, 165 ff.

[2] For an interpretation of the sculptured symbols on the top of the Black Stone the reader is referred to the writer's article mentioned in the preceding note.

the while. They stretched their hands into Esagila, the temple of the gods, and squandered (its) gold, silver and precious stones in Elam in payment (for aid). Anger seized the lord of the gods, Marduk. For the overthrow of the land and the destruction of its people he devised evil plans. The Arahtu Canal, (*Col. II*) ⌜a river of abundance⌝,[1] whose floods were high, ⌜like unto⌝ the deluge, ⌜was brought up and it poured⌝ [its waters] into the city of his abode and his sanctuary, and made it like unto a ruin heap. The gods (and) goddesses, who dwelt therein, went up to heaven. The people living in its midst, having been apportioned to the yoke and the fetter, went into slavery.

643. ⌜Seventy⌝ years as the period (*lit.*, measure) of its desolation he wrote (down in the Book of Fate). But the merciful Marduk—his anger lasted but a moment—turned (the Book of Fate) upside down and ordered its (the city's) restoration in the eleventh year.

644. Me, Esarhaddon, that these things might be accomplished (*lit.*, turned to their places), thou didst most certainly call from among my older brothers (*Col. III*) and didst spread thy kindly [protecting shadow] over me. All that hate me thou didst cast down, like a deluge; all of my ⌜foes⌝ thou didst slay. Thou didst cause me to attain to my desire.

645. To set at rest the heart of thy great godhead, to bring peace to thy soul, thou didst intrust (to my hands) the rule of Assyria. At the beginning of my rule, in the first year of my reign, when I took my seat upon the royal throne in might, there appeared ⌜favorable⌝ signs in the heavens (and on) earth. His portent was interpreted(?). ⌜I was fearful⌝ (and) hesitant about carrying out that commission. Before Shamash, [Adad] (and) Marduk, the great judges, the gods, my lords, I prostrated myself. Through the soothsayers

[1] Under ordinary circumstances the stream which brought abundance to the land.

rites encouraging oracles were disclosed, and for the rebuilding of Babylon (and) the restoration of Esagila, they caused (the command) to be written thereon.[1]

646. (*Col. IV*) In (this) their positive command I put my trust. I summoned all of my artisans and the people of Karduniash (Babylonia) in their totality. I made them carry the basket and laid the headpad upon them. In choice oil, honey, butter, wine, wine of the shining mountains, I laid its foundation walls. I raised the headpad to my own head and carried it. In a brick mold of ivory, maple, boxwood and mulberry, (which had) writing (*lit.*, words) fixed against the wood, I molded a brick. Esagila, the temple of the gods, together with its shrines, Babylon the city under feudal protection, Imgur-Bêl, its wall, Nimitti-Bêl, its outer wall, from their foundations to their turrets, I built anew, I enlarged, I raised aloft, I made magnificent. The images of the great gods I restored and had them replaced in their shrines to adorn them forever. Their offerings, which had ceased (to be brought), I re-established. The sons of Babylon who had been brought to servitude, who had been apportioned to the yoke and the fetter, I gathered together and accounted them for Babylonians. Their clientship I established anew.

2. PRISM 78,223 OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

647. The broken British Museum prism of Esarhaddon, numbered 78,223, is made up of Bu. 85-5-12,77 and Bu. 85-5-12,78, published by Meissner-Rost in *BA*, III, 329 f., and a third fragment, "privately owned" at the time of Meissner's study of the Esarhaddon texts. The following translation is based upon the restored text, which will appear in the writer's *Annals of Esarhaddon.*

648. (*Col. I*) [Esarhaddon], ⌜the great king⌝, the mighty [king, king] of the universe, king of Assyria; viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; rightful ruler (*lit.*, shepherd), beloved of the lord of lords; exalted prince, favorite of the

[1] The tablet on which the oracle was written down.

goddess Sarpanit, queen of the totality of the universe; god-fearing king, from the days of whose youth their (*i.e.*, the gods') authority was recognized (*lit.*, stamped, approved), the one abject, suppliant slave, the submissive, groveling worshiper of their exalted godhead.

649. Now, in the reign of a former king, there befell evil days (*lit.*, signs) in Sumer and Akkad, the people who dwelt in Shuanna split into factions, plotting rebellion, [forsaking their gods[1], abandoning [the worship] of the goddess of their cult, and going away to other (lands). Even to the treasure of Esagila, the temple of the gods, an inviolable shrine, they stretched their hands. The silver, gold and precious stones they squandered in Elam in payment (for aid). Anger seized the lord of the gods, Marduk. For the overthrow of the land and the destruction of its people he devised evil plans. The Arahtu Canal, the river of abundance, a mighty river, a raging torrent, (whose) floods were high, like unto the deluge, was brought up and it poured its waters into the city of his abode and made it like unto a ruin heap. The gods who dwelt therein flew off, like birds, and went up to heaven. The people living in its midst fled to other parts and in (*Col. II*) [strange] lands found a refuge.

650. Seventy years as the period of its desolation he wrote (down in the Book of Fate). But the merciful Marduk —his anger lasted but a moment[1]—turned (the book) upside down and ordered its (the city's) restoration in the eleventh year.

651. Me, Esarhaddon, that these things might be accomplished, thou didst most certainly call from among my older brothers and didst spread thy kindly protecting shadow over me. All that hate me thou didst cast down like a deluge, all of my foes thou didst slay. Thou didst cause me to attain to my desire. To set at rest the heart of thy great

[1] *Lit.*, In a moment his heart was at rest (appeased).

godhead, to bring peace to thy soul, [thou didst intrust] to my hands the rule of Assyria.

[At the beginning of my rule, in the first year of my reign], ⌜when⌝ [I took my seat upon the royal throne in might, there appeared favorable] signs [in the heavens and on earth⌝. [His] portent(?) [was interpreted]. The angry gods . . . . . , for the rebuilding of Babylon and the restoration of Esagila, revealed unto me a favorable omen. The planet Jupiter (*SAG-ME-GAR*) arose, determining the fate of Akkad, and in the month of *Simânu* it drew near to the station of the sun. It approached, it stood still. The appearance of its countenance was ruddy. It changed and in the month *Pît-bâbi* (*Du'zu*) it reached the place of its "watch" and stood (still) in its station. For the complete restoration of the metropolis, the rebuilding of the sanctuaries, the revival of the cult of Esagila, the temple of the gods,—that this be done, monthly Sin and Shamash (*i.e.*, the moon and the sun) commanded at their appearance. That Akkad should be vindicated,[1] they were in perfect agreement with one another. Thanks to the wide understanding, (*Col. III*) the breadth of vision which the ⌜master of the gods], the prince Nudimmud, granted me, I had in mind and my heart [urged], the settlement (of the returning citizens) in new quarters, [the rebuilding] of the shrines and the ⌜renewal of the splendor of the metropolis]. [But I was fearful and hesitant] about [carrying out] that commission. Before Shamash, [Adad and Marduk⌝, the great judges, the gods, my lords, I prostrated myself. Through the soothsayer's rites encouraging oracles were disclosed and for the rebuilding of Babylon and the restoration of Esagila, they caused the order to be written thereon. In (this) their positive command I put my trust. I summoned all of my artisans and the people of Karduniash (Babylonia), in their totality. I caused

[1] The wrongs of Akkad avenged.

them to carry [the basket] and ⌜laid⌝ the headpad (upon them).

652. With choice oil . . . . . (*the next ten lines may be supplied from the text of the Black Stone, Col. IV, ll. 7–14, cf. § 646.*) ⌜I fashioned a brick]. [Wise architects⌝, ⌜skilful builders⌝, who lay down [plans, I gathered together] and the . . . . . of Esagila I . . . . . Its structure I . . . . . .

On a favorable day. . . . . its foundation . . . . . I did not neglect(?) . . . . . According to the word of the plans I laid its foundation platform. Esagila, the temple of the gods, I . . . . . Esharra . . . . . the abode of Ea . . . . . I completed . . . . . I raised on high . . . . . .

653. (*Col. IV*) . . . . . with mighty beams [of cedar], products of ⌜Mount Amanus⌝, the snow-capped (*lit.*, shining) mountain, I spanned its roof. Door-leaves of cypress, whose odor is pleasant, I bound with a band of gold and silver and hung them in their doors. The gods and goddesses dwelling therein, whom the unchecked floods and rains had carried off and defaced their images,—the damage and harm they (had suffered, I repaired) and their disfigured (*lit.*, darkened) features I renovated (*lit.*, caused to shine). Their garments I cleansed. In their [holy] shrines I caused them to dwell. . . . . (*Rest of column gone.*)

654. (*Col. V*) [Imgur-Bêl, its great wall, 30 cords on the side], 30 cords[1] on the front, by the great cubit, I made its measurement. To its former (dimensions) I restored it and made it mountain high. Nimitti-Bêl, its outer wall, I rebuilt completely, heaping adornments upon it to the astonishment of all the people.

655. As for the enslaved Babylonians, who had been the feudatories, the clients, of the gods Anu and Enlil, their freedom I established anew. The "capitalists" (*lit.*, buyers,

[1] The cord, or chain, *ashlu* was about 59 m. in length.

merchants) who had been brought to slavery, who had been apportioned to the yoke and the fetter, [I gathered together and accounted them for Babylonians]. . . . . .

656. (*Col. VI*) My [priestly seed], may it endure, together with the [foundation platform] of Esagila and Babylon, for all time to come; my kingship, may it bring bodily comfort (*lit.*, comfort the flesh) to the people, like the plant of life. In justice and righteousness may I rule their subjects. May I attain to a (ripe) old age, and have (abundant) posterity. May I enjoy the blessings of life unto the [evil days]. For I am indeed a ⌜liberal⌝ king! ⌜May I extend my family⌝, bring together my kin. May I spread abroad [my stock], may ⌜I send forth my branches.⌝ ⌜May I keep the foundation of my priestly throne firm as a rock⌝. May my rule be secure as (*lit.*, with) heaven and earth. [In joy and gladness, with happy heart, radiant countenance and blissful spirit, may I walk my bright path from day to day]. (*For the restorations of the foregoing paragraph, the section which is completely gone, and the beginning of the following section, see § 659E.*) . . . . . [In might, and with conquering hand] [may they cause] me [to stand upon my foes]. [Rains and floods (of rivers)], [successful harvests], ⌜abundant crops⌝, ⌜fulness and plenty] (*Col. VII*) ⌜may they bring to my land⌝. May they empty the granary of the grain-goddess (upon my land).

I had memorial steles (tablets) made of silver, gold, copper, lapis lazuli, marble, *salamdu* (some black stone), "wheat" stone (Fusulina limestone), *elalu*-stone (and) white limestone. Colored clay pictures (in the form of) constellations, the likeness of the writing of my name, I engraved upon them. The might of the great warrior, Marduk, the deeds which I had accomplished, the works of my hands, I wrote thereon and put them into the foundations. I turned them over to (*lit.*, left them for) the future (eternity).

657. In days to come, in future days, whoever (it is) among the kings, my sons, whose name the king of the gods, Marduk, shall call to the rulership of land and people, let him look upon the inscription with the writing of my name. Let him anoint it with oil, let him pour out libations, and return it to its place. And Marduk, king of the gods, will hear his prayers. But the one who destroys my inscribed name (*lit.*, the writing of my name), shatters (the record) of my words, does away with (extirpates) Babylon's freedom, or tears asunder the bond (made fast) by the lord of lords,—may Marduk, lord of the gods, ruler of (all) lands, look upon him in anger, may he issue the command for his destruction to all the black-headed (race of men).

658. In Upshuginna, the court of the assembly of the gods, the abode of judgment, may he (*i.e.*, Marduk) impugn (*lit.*, make evil) his word. May he command that his life (last) not a single day.

659. Year of accession of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria.

3. K. 192 AND PRISM BU. 88-5-12, 75+76

659A. The broken British Museum tablet K. 192 and the fragment of the prism Bu. 88-5-12, 75+76, may have contained nearly the same version of Esarhaddon's rebuilding of Babylon as that of the preceding paragraphs. The prism inscription dates from the year of accession (text by Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 311 f. and 323 f.).

659B. (K 192 *Obv.*) [Now in the reign of a former king, ... the people split into factions etc., (*see* § *649*)] not doing(?) the . . . . . of its lady, they abandoned [the worship of the goddess] of their [cult], and went away into other (lands) . . . . . ceased, wasting disease . . . . . they brought to an end, they made a conspiracy(?). [To the treasure of Esagila, the temple of the gods, an inviolable shrine], they stretched (*lit.*, brought) their hands, they carried off its goods. [The silver, gold and precious stones] of the

temple they squandered in Elam in payment (for aid). . . . . Bêl saw it, his heart was angered, his soul (*lit.*, liver) enraged . . . . . for the destruction of land and people, he planned an evil (plan) . . . . . Assur was angered in his heart and an evil curse was upon his lips. [In heaven and on earth] there appeared many [evil omens], (portending) total destruction. . . . . [In the . . . . . .] of Ea, their stations they made evil, they revealed evil (destructive) signs. . . . . together; evil were its signs. [The Arahtu Canal, a raging torrent[1], an angry stream, (whose) floods were high, like unto the deluge, was brought up and [into the city of his abode] poured its waters and made it like a meadow. [The gods and goddesses dwelling therein] flew off like birds and went up to heaven. [The people dwelling therein] cast down . . . . . and proceeded to other (places). . . . . ⌜elsewhere⌝, in a foreign (*lit.*, unknown) land, they found a hiding place (*lit.*, secret place) . . . . the heart of the great lord Marduk became quiet and, toward the land with which he had been angry(?), he became gracious. [As the period of desolation, seventy years] he had written down, but he had mercy (upon them) and spoke their pardon. . . . . the fear of his great godhead.

659C. [At the beginning of my kingship, in my first year of reign], when I seated myself on the throne of deity and put on my head the royal crown, (*Rev.*) there appeared [favorable signs in heaven and on earth], for the restoration of the city and temple, favorable (oracles) were disclosed to me. [(The planet) Jupiter arose and in the month of *Simânu*, drew near[1] and approached the station of the sun. It stood still. The appearance of its countenance was ruddy. ⌜It changed⌝ . . . . . heavy rains and [great] floods of mountain water, ... In the month *Pît-bâbi* it reached the place of its "watch" and stood (still) in its station. For making . . . . . a favorable oracle was disclosed. [Monthly Sin

and Shamash, at their appearance, were in agreement with each other as to the restoration of the (images) of the gods, the complete rebuilding of the metropolis], ⌜the security⌝ of my dynasty, and the stability of my priestly throne. [Thanks to the wide understanding], the breadth of vision which [the Master of the gods, the prince Nudimmud], granted me, I had in mind and my heart urged, [the settlement of the returning citizens in new quarters, the rebuilding of their shrines⌝, (and) the renewal of the splendor of the metropolis. [But I was fearful and hesitant] about carrying out that commission. Before Shamash, Adad and Marduk, the great judges, the gods, [my lords, I prostrated myself]. [Through the soothsayer's rites encouraging oracles⌝ were disclosed and for the rebuilding of the city and restoration of [the temple], they caused the order to be written thereon. [In (this) their positive command I put my trust⌝. I summoned all of my artisans and the people of Karduniash, in their totality. I caused them to carry the basket and laid the headpad upon them. [In choice oil, honey, butter, wine], wine of the mountain, I laid its foundation walls. [I raised the headpad to my own head and carried it. In a brick mold of ivory, maple, boxwood and mulberry⌝ (which had) writing fixed against the wood, I molded its bricks. . . . . wise architects and skilful builders, who lay down plans, I gathered together and [of Esagila, the temple of the gods], I laid the foundation, I put down its brickwork. . . . . I skilfully carried out its artistic lines,—its plan being laid down according to the likeness of his (Marduk's) members . . . . . great cords (*ashlu*) according to its former plan, I made its measurement . . . . . its foundation platform I made strong as the structure of the mighty mountain. [Using the stonemason's craftsmanship⌝ I built its structure as it was in former days . . . . . [1½⌝ cords (*ashlu*) on the side, 1½ cords on the front, I made it, as in the former (survey) . . . . . .

the great gods, and to the brick-god, lord of the brick foundation, ⌜I offered⌝ pure sacrifices . . . . . (In) . . . . . wine and sesame-wine, I laid their foundation, I put down their foundation stele (cylinder), ... an image of the majesty of my great lord [Marduk] . . . . . I placed the ⌜appropriate vessels(?)⌝ therein . . . . . all his precious . . . . . I returned to their places . . . . . I set up.

659D. (Bu 88-8-12, 75+76, *Col. V*) . . . . . With beams of cedar, the product of Mount Amanus, I spanned its roof . . . . . [of pine, mulberry⌝, [cedar (and) pistachio], shining timbers, ⌜for the strengthening⌝ of the temple, I used; [lest the "binding" of the walls⌝ should give way (*lit.*, be loosed) [the splendor of Esagila⌝ ⌜be forgotten⌝, I built it [of brick].

[At that time, in the place⌝ of the abode, [the dwelling] of Marduk, Sarpanit [(and) Nabû], ⌜I sank the terrace⌝ 16½ cubits,[1] ⌜I reached the nether waters⌝.[2] With bitumen and burnt brick I made it strong; a retaining wall for its foundation I built,—Nudimmut teaching me (how to do it); I raised it on high and, for the abode of his great divinity, I "poured it out like a ruin."[3] A dwelling for Marduk, Sarpanit and Nabû I built thereon (*lit.*, therein). Door-leaves of cypress, whose odor is pleasant, [I bound with a band of gold], silver (and) bronze and ⌜hung them in its doors⌝. [(The images) of] the great ⌜gods⌝ I restored . . . . . their . . . . . the abode of . . . . . colossi . . . . . (*Col. VI*) . . . . . I set them up. Every kind of ⌜utensil⌝ needful for Esagila, vessels(?) of silver and gold, ⌜weighing(?)⌝ in all 50 minas, I fashioned artistically with artistic workman-

[1] That is, the terrace was begun 16½ cubits below the level of the plain.

[2] The restorations in the text of Bu. 88-8-12, 75+76, up to this point are from the fragment Bu. 88-8-12, 79, Cols. VI and VII.

[3] So the text seems to read. If correct, the meaning would seem to be that the temple of Marduk was as large as most mounds of ruined cities.

ship. The splendid cults of Esagila I restored to their former magnificence (*lit.*, to their place). I made them much grander than in days gone by. Their (the gods') pure sacrificial lambs, their splendid offerings, their fixed dues, which had ceased (to be paid), I set before them. *Ramku*, *pashishu*, *mahhû*(?), *hârû*(?) priests, who are "guardians" of the divine decisions (oracles), I established before them. *Ishippu*, ... *kalû* and *zammeru* priests, who are skilled in all the arts, I established before them. Etemenanki, the temple tower,—1½ cords on the side, 1½ cords on the front, I built anew in the place of its former site. Imgur-Bêl, its great wall, 30 cords on the side, 30 cords on the front, by the great cubit, I made its measurement. To its former (dimensions) I restored it and made it mountain high. Nimitti-Bêl, its outer wall, I rebuilt [completely], heaping up adornments upon it to ⌜the astonishment of all the people⌝. ⌜The gods⌝ of the lands, who had been carried off, from Assur and Elam I brought them back to their places, and in every metropolis I established the customary (cults).

659E. As for the enslaved Babylonians, who had been the feudatories, the clients, of Anu and Enlil, their freedom I established anew. The "capitalists," who had been brought into slavery, who had been apportioned to the yoke and fetter, I gathered together and accounted them for Babylonians.

Their plundered possessions I restored. The naked I clothed and turned their feet into the road to Babylon. To (re)settle the city, to rebuild the temple, to set out plantations, to dig irrigation-ditches I encouraged them. Their clientship which had lapsed, which had slipped out of (their) hands, I restored. The tablet (charter) of their freedom I wrote anew. Toward the four winds of heaven I opened up their ways so that, establishing their tongue (language) in every land, they might carry out their plans (*lit.*, thoughts).

May Marduk, and Sarpanit, the gods who are my sup-

port, look with favor upon the pious deeds of my hands, and in the steadfastness of their hearts may they bless my kingship.

My priestly seed, may it endure, together with the foundation platform of Esagila and Babylon, for all time to come; my kingship, may it bring bodily comfort to the people, like the plant of life. In justice and righteousness may I rule their subjects. May I attain to a (ripe) old age, and have abundant posterity. May I enjoy the blessing of life until the evil days. For I am indeed a liberal king! May I extend my family, bring together my kin. May I spread abroad my stock, may I send forth many branches. May I keep the foundation of my priestly throne firm as a rock. May my rule be secure as (*lit.*, with) heaven and earth. In joy and gladness, with happy heart, radiant countenance and blissful spirit, may I walk my bright path from day to day. (May mine) be a happy (*lit.*, good) destiny, a favorable destiny! Accompanying the days of my reign, guarding my priestly throne, may "the image of my name" be upon their (the gods') lips.

(*Col. IX*) (*Three lines gone*) A scepter, subduing the insubmissive, may he place into my hand. May they send forth my weapons and slay my foes. In might, and with conquering hand, may they cause me to stand upon my foes. Rains and floods (of the rivers), successful harvests, abundant crops, fulness and plenty, may they bring to my land. May they empty the granary of the grain-goddess (upon my land).

I had memorial steles (tablets) made of silver, gold, copper, lapis lazuli, marble, *salamdu* (some black stone), "wheat" stone (Fusulina limestone), *elalu*-stone (and) white limestone. Colored clay pictures (in the form of) constellations, the likeness of the writing of my name, I engraved upon them. The might of the great warrior Marduk, the deeds which I had accomplished, the works of my hands, I wrote

thereon and put them into the foundations. I turned them over to (*lit.*, left them for) the future (eternity).

(*Blessings and curses and date like §§ 657–59 follow.*)

4. ANOTHER BRITISH MUSEUM PRISM

660. The following text, made up of the British Museum prism fragments Bu. 88-5-12, 80; ———, 101; and ———, 103, was published by Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 222 f., and Rogers, *Haverford College Studies*, No. 9, pp. 57 ff.

661. (*Col. I*) Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; the exalted prince, worshiper of Nabû and Marduk.

662. Before my time the great lord Marduk became angry. He went in (to his temple), and his heart was enraged against Esagila and Babylon, he was furious. Through the anger of his ⌜heart⌝ and the fury of his ⌜soul⌝, Esagila and ⌜Babylon⌝ became wasteland and were like the open country. Its gods and goddesses departed, leaving their shrines and going up to heaven. The people who lived therein, having been apportioned to the yoke and fetter, went into slavery.

663. At the beginning of my rule, in the first year of my reign, when I took my seat upon the royal throne, in might, when they (the gods) intrusted to my hands the rulership of the lands,—the heart of the great lord, Marduk, was (now) at rest and his soul calm; after he was appeased and had become reconciled toward Esagila and Babylon, me, Esarhaddon, the slave, who worships Nabû and Marduk . . . . . .

664. (*Col. II*) [Eagerness] dwelt in my body and moved my soul. My heart was confident and I ordered its (Babylon's) restoration. The people of the lands my hands had conquered I gathered together, I made them carry the basket and headpad. In choice oil, honey, butter, sesame-wine, grape-wine, wine of the shining mountains, I laid the [founda-

tion walls]. That his exalted deity might be revealed to the people, that my lord Marduk might be placated, I raised the headpad to my own head, and carried it myself. With a brick mold of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, which had writing fixed against the wood, I fashioned bricks. Esagila, the temple of the gods, together with its shrines, from its foundation to its turrets, I built anew, [I restored]. Larger than it had been in former days, ⌜I made it. I made it magnificent], I raised it aloft . . . . . like "writing in colors" I made it bright. To the astonishment of all the people, I filled it with splendor. The gods . . . . . (*Cols. III and IV are totally gone. Of Col. V only a few signs at the ends of the lines remain.*)

665. (*Col. VI*) [My stele, to its place] let him return. [Then] Marduk, king of the gods, will hear his prayers. Whoever destroys the writing of my name, (*v.*, whoever blots out my insignia), demolishes my (handi)-work, may the great lord Marduk single him out from among all princes, destroy his name and his seed in the land. For all time to come may no mercy be shown him.

5. K 2801

666. On the tablet K 2801, published by Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 f., stands the following text,[1] intended, as the subscript shows, for a royal statue:

667. When Assur, king of the Igigi and Anunnaki, father of the gods, lord of the lands; Anu, the mighty, the primeval, whose word of command no god calls in question (*lit.*, answers); Enlil, the lord, surpassing great, who determines the destinies of heaven and earth, founder of cities; Ea, the sage, the lord of wisdom, creator of (all that is) created, who fashions all things; Sin, the unparalleled (*lit.*, unique) and Ishtar the arbitress, she who discloses pitfalls (snares); Shamash, the

[1] Certain broken portions of the text are restored from K 221+2669.

great judge among the gods (chief justice of the gods), who enlightens the darkness, the brilliance of whose majesty fills all the lands; Adad, first in heaven and on earth, who sends the bountiful showers (*lit.*, showers of abundance), who gives life to the living creatures; Marduk, the first-born son, lord of the gods, with whom are enlightenment and illumination; Nabû, recorder (scribe) of all things, who assembles(?) the Anunnaki and Igigi, who guards all the nether waters; [Nergal], the almighty, lord [of lords], [who binds] the foe, lord of the wide world; Agushea, goddess of . . . . . and grain(?), who arouses to battle, who stands firm in the fight; the Seven, warrior-gods, who hold the bow and the arrow, whose onset is battle and destruction; the great gods, who inhabit heaven and earth, whose gracious word is unchangeable:—(when all these gods), on me, ⌜Esarhaddon⌝, cast the steady glance of their holy (*lit.*, bright) eyes, in the ⌜joy(?) and gladness of] their [hearts], made great my . . . . . (and) decreed for me a favorable destiny, when . . . . . [for the peace of their hearts and] the tranquillity of their spirits, they raised me to the kingship . . . . . [their protecting shadow] they spread over me securely . . . . . solemnly they pronounced my name, ... granted me breadth of ⌜intellect⌝ . . . . . to restore (the images) of the great gods, and to carry out the divine decrees and orders, they inspired me (*lit.*, opened my mind).

668. [And I, Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria], prefect of Bêl, priest of Assur, [viceroy] of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, ... [beloved of] Tashmetum, the prince who takes counsel with himself, ... called of Ishtar of Nineveh, the great queen, [and on whom Ishtar] of Arbela looked with her holy (*lit.*, bright) eyes; object of the goddesses' desire, king of Subartu, Amurru, Gutium, the wide Hittite-land . . . . . [king] of the kings of Dilmun, Magan (and) Meluhha, king of the four regions of the world,

. . . . . the word of Assur, king of the great gods, of Nabû (and) Marduk; who bears the persecution(?) of Enlil, Sin, Shamash and Adad; the prince who fears the great gods, who carefully searches out the sites (sacred to) their great godhead, [who from] his youth to his maturity was submissive (*lit.*, waited upon) to their rule, subject to their power; the king, in the days of whose reign the great gods showed favor toward, and began to return to, the sanctuaries of their metropolises; the Sun of all peoples, the protecting shadow of . . . . . the trustworthy(?) shepherd, who "shepherds" the black-headed (race of men); enduring seed of royalty, precious scion of Assur, object of Esharra's desire, whose hands are clean; the priest who purifies the images of the great gods, builder of the temple of Assur, restorer of Esagila and Babylon, who returns the captive peoples of the lands to their places, and settles them (there) for all time (*lit.*, in lasting abodes), who clothes the sanctuaries of every city daily, with silver and gold, who establishes the fixed offerings therein, who completely restores the cults, establishes revenues, presents gifts,—splendid (*lit.*, large) offerings,—for every temple; the . . . . . who is untiring in offering sacrifices and carrying out (every detail) of the cult, who keeps the day of his god as a feast day; who planned (the restoration of) the feudal protection of Assur, who established the freedom of Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar and Dêr, who . . . . . those dwelling therein, who made good their losses, who gathered together the scattered [people of Babylon] and caused them to inhabit an abode of peace; the mighty hero, clothed in terror, who sent forth his armies to bring low the foes of Assyria and Assur, king of the gods; light of the four quarters (of the earth); the warrior, at whose side march the gods, his allies, to overcome the enemy; first of all princes, who marches from the rising sun to the setting sun, who is without a rival; son of Sennache-

rib, [the great king], the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; descendant of Bêl-bâni, king of Assyria, of an eternal line,[1] whose path is Assyria, who from days of old, at the word of Marduk, came forth to rule land and people, and to be advanced to the kingship; whose priesthood is pleasing unto Assur; whose sacrificial offerings the gods of heaven and earth desire.

669. At the beginning of my rule, in the first year of my reign, when Assur, king of the gods, graciously caused me to take my seat upon the throne, Anu granted me his tiara, Bêl (Enlil) his throne, Urta (NIN-IB) his weapon, Nergal his terrifying splendor, and there occurred, in heaven and earth, favorable signs, commanding (*lit.*, of) the restoration of the (images) of the gods, the rebuilding of sanctuaries. Jupiter arose, and in the month of *Simânu* drew near to the place of the Sun (Shamash); it approached, it stood still. It changed, and in the month *Pît-bâbi* it reached the place of its "watch," and took up its abode. In order to establish might, and to bring about the completion (of his plans), he revealed a favorable omen, (commanding) the entrance into Esagila. The stars of heaven proceeded to their stations, took up the proper course and kept from (*lit.*, left) the improper path. Monthly Sin and Shamash (moon and sun), at their appearance, were in perfect agreement with each other about the restoration of the (images) of the gods, the complete restoration of the sanctuaries of the cities, the stability of my reign, the security of my priestly throne.

670. At that time, I, Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, who waits for Assur's command (*lit.*, who watches the raising of the eyes of Assur), object of the great gods' desire,—thanks to the wide understanding, the breadth of vision, which the Master of the gods, the prince Nudim-

[1] *Lit.*, of a possession of eternal (days).

mud, granted me, through the insight which Assur and Marduk "opened up" in my understanding, for the restoration of the (images) of the great gods, with upraised hand, (with) supplication and prostration before Assur, king of the gods, and the great lord Marduk, I implored their divinity: "With whom, O ye great gods, creators of gods and goddesses, do you send me on (this) difficult mission to an unknown place, —a mission of restoration, with people who are not loyal, who do not know their own minds (*lit.*, themselves), who have been foolish since days of old. O ye creators of gods and goddesses, build the structure with your own hands, the abode of your exalted divinity. Whatever is in your hearts, so let it be done, without any deviations from the command of your lips. The skilled (*lit.*, wise) artificers whom you called to carry out this commission,—like Ea, their creator, grant unto them the high(est) wisdom, so that their strength and skill, at your exalted command, may accomplish, through the craftsmanship of Nin-igi-kug, what their hands undertake."

671. To (await) the decision of Shamash and Adad, I prostrated myself reverently; to (learn) their final decree, I arranged the soothsayers at the entrance to the Bît-mummu. I saw a vision concerning Assur, Babylon and Nineveh. (For guidance) concerning the artificers who should accomplish the work and carry out (*lit.*, bring in) the (divine) decree, I laid down the portions of the sacrificial animals right and left (*lit.*, at both sides). The signs of the oracle (*lit.*, flesh) were in perfect agreement (*lit.*, as of one mouth) and they gave me a favorable answer. In Assur, the city of my dynasty, the abode of the father of the gods, Assur, they gave command to enter the Bît-mummu, and they designated (*lit.*, determined) the names of the artificers who should carry out the work. In accordance with the encouraging and favorable oracle, the soothsayers gave command concerning the carrying out of their work as follows: "Bring quickly the

wealth of the counting house. Do not permit any delay. Do not give your attention to any other thing (*lit.*, elsewhere)."

672. I put my trust in their (the gods') unalterable, affirmative, command; my heart was confident. In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, in the month *Shabâtu*, the month of the heart's delight of Bêl, I entered the Bît-mummu, the place of revival (*lit.*, renewal), which was pleasing to them, and carpenters, masons, metal-workers, engravers, skilled artisans, learned in secret lore (divine mysteries), I caused to enter that house which Shamash and Adad had assigned in my vision, and made them abide there. Dark gold, the dust of its mountain, which no one had (yet) worked, for ornamental work; precious stones, (never yet) put into a setting, without number, the product of the mountains, which Ea in his might had destined for royal workmanship,—a destiny of splendor; for the sanctuaries of the great gods, and the adornment of their divinity, I had them (*i.e.*, artists) take (of this gold and the precious stones) in great quantity, I filled their clean hands (therewith). A splendid (*lit.*, artistic) tiara, befitting the majesty of Assur, king of the gods, my lord, of the ruddy gold and the precious stones I had (them) make, and I restored it to its place. That tiara, clothed with splendor, adorned with opulence, manifesting (*lit.*, bearing) glory, emblazoned with radiance, was most acceptable to Assur, the great lord, and his soul (*lit.*, liver) was pleased, his countenance shone.

673. Bêlit, my lady, the lady of Babylon, Ea, the judge of the great gods, in Esharra, the temple of their begetter, were duly begotten and grew large as to stature; out of ruddy *sariru*, the product of Arallu (the underworld), the dust of its mountain, I caused their forms to rise up in splendor; with elegant ornaments, costly embellishments, I adorned their necks; I covered (*lit.*, filled) their bosoms with everything desired by the heart of the great lord Marduk

and longed for by the soul of the queen Zêrbânîtu (Sarpanit).

674. The images of their great divinities I made more beautiful (*lit.*, artistic) than they were before. I made them exceedingly splendid, I made (their) magnificence awe-inspiring. I made them shine like Shamash (the sun). The shrine of mulberry and *sidarû*-wood, together with a footstool, covered with ruddy gold, for Tashmêtu, the great goddess, who dwells in Ekua, the holy of holies of Marduk, in Babylon, I built anew. (The image) of Ilê-Amurru, who illumines heaven and earth, who brightens Esagila, and who dwells in E-namtagga-gaba, I restored. (The images) of Abshushu and Abtagigi, who dwell in E-gishhar-ankia, the temple of the goddess Bêlit of Nineveh, and of the gods and goddesses, all that Assur and Marduk commanded, I restored and returned to their places. Aia, queen of Dêr, Sîru, lady of life, Durrunitum, Asharid (AN-SAG), in the month of *Bubê*, I returned to the temple, to Dêr, their city. Usur-amatsa, giver of counsel, who intercedes for me, to Erech, her city, I returned. Shamash of Larsa, to Larsa, Humhummu (Humbabaia), Shukamuna, Shîmalia, to Sippar-Aruru, I returned.

675. I mustered all of my men (subjects), of the whole of Karduniash (Babylonia), I caused them to carry the basket and headpad. With brick mold(s) of ivory, maple, boxwood and mulberry, I caused them to fashion bricks. With choice oil, honey, butter, sesame-wine, wine, mountain wine, I sprinkled the wall. In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, of Eharsaggalkurkurra, the bond of heaven and earth, the abode of Assur, king of the gods, my lord, and Esagila, the temple of the gods, the abode of the great lord Marduk (of) Babylon, the city of his divine abode, on (tablets of) gold (and) silver, choice herbs, honey, butter, wine, sesame-wine, [at the corners(?)], where I laid their foundation walls over against one another, I built their brickwork.

676. Marduk, the great lord, considered every detail of the work of his noble shrine, (and), in order to reveal to the people his powerful works (*lit.*, the power of his deeds) and to teach mankind the glory of his divinity, inside the . . . . . I carved a fuming (raging) dragon (*sirrushshu*) upon (a slab) of *alalu*-stone, a good-luck stone (amulet; *lit.*, a stone of speaking and favor); as though alive I made it crouch . . . . . of the features was not fashioned according to the workmanship of artisans and a stone of casting (laying) a bolt upon the sea . . . . . I made its mouth hold fire . . . . . its face I made hairy(?) . . . . . of the . . . . . the artisans (and) workmen, for the work of the lord of the gods, which out of mighty mountain stone . . . . . Marduk, the great lord . . . . . Assur, my lord . . . . . his . . . . . .

677. That which is (written) upon the statue of the king, the ⌜first(?)⌝ part.

6. PENTAGONAL PRISM OF ESARHADDON

678. On the lower part of a pentagonal prism of Esarhaddon, now in the British Museum, is found part of another text from this king's accession year in which the restoration of Babylon is the theme. Text published in *CT*, XXXVI, Plates 1 ff.

679. (*Col. I*) . . . . . destroyer, in their bodies was put and his (its) . . . . . they were destroying, ⌜they were stealing⌝, in large quantities(?). In the midst of the city (there was) plundering, there was taking of bribes. On the first day, without ceasing, they robbed each other of (their) goods. The son cursed his father in the street (or market-place); the slave to his master. . . . . .

(*End of column. The top of Col. II is missing.*)

680. (*Col. II*) . . . . . in the lands. To destroy land and people was his evil plan. To overwhelm the land, and to carry off its people, his heart prompted. An evil curse was

upon his lips (*lit.*, set in his mouth). In heaven and on earth there were evil omens (portending) total destruction.

681. (*Col. III*) . . . . . city, he had caused to be, and the reed of the cane-brakes and the *sarbatu* (Styrax?) throve mightily in its (the city's) midst and put forth shoots. The birds of heaven, the fish of the sea in countless numbers, were in its midst.

682. (*Col. IV*) . . . . . and to restore its sanctuaries, his portent was sent. I mobilized all of the artisans of Babylonia, the whole of it. Trees and reeds of the brakes they cut down with axes, they pulled up by the roots. The waters of the Euphrates I dammed, from its midst I shut them off, and into their former channels (*lit.*, ways) I directed them.

683. (*Col. V*) . . . . . may there be on his lips. My prayer for length of days may he grant me and command the welfare of my dynasty forever and ever.

684. The month of *Aiaru*, year of accession of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria.

7. S 1079

685. A fragmentary text, S 1079, published in transliteration by Winckler, *Forschungen*, II, 56 f., seems to have recorded some celebration in honor of the restored Babylon.

686. . . . . the gods of Sumer and Akkad, [took] the road [to Babylon], like whimpering puppies, who . . . . . in their assembly, as one . . . . . they are mighty(?). . . . . For me Esarhaddon the name of . . . . . they decreed . . . . . .

687. In joy and gladness [I entered] into Babylon . . . . . in the citadel of Babylon . . . . . Among the trees of the gardens, the water courses . . . . . of E-harzaginna, ... through the work of the master . . . . . before the stars of the heaven, Ea, Shamash . . . . . .
. . . . . .

II. REBUILDING OF THE ROYAL PALACE AT NINEVEH

688. The rebuilding of the royal palace at Nineveh is commemorated in the inscriptions on Prisms S, B, A, and C, whose historical "introductions" were given in §§ 499 f.

1. PRISMS S AND B

Prism S (Col. V, ll. 35–41)

689. After Assur, Shamash, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, had caused me to stand upon my foes in might and I had attained to my heart's desire, with the hosts of conquered foes, which my hands had captured with the aid of the great gods, my lords, I (re)built the temples of the metropolises of Assyria and Akkad, and, adorning them with [silver and gold], I made them shine like the day.

Restoration of the palace at Nineveh (Prism S, Col. V, ll. 42–46+Prism B, Col. V, ll. 1–27)

690. [At that time] the older palace of Nineveh, [which the kings] who went before, my fathers, ⌜had built⌝,—[for the care] of the camp, the sheltering of the [great] (cavalry) horses, mules, chariots, arms, [battle] equipment, and the enemy's plunder, of all sorts, which Assur, king of the gods granted me as my royal gift, that ⌜place⌝ had come (to seem) too small to me for the exercising of horses, and the maneuvering of chariots, and the people of the lands my arms (*lit.*, bow) had despoiled, I made to carry the basket and headpad and they made bricks. That small palace I tore down in its totality, [cut off] a (piece) of land large (enough) for my plans from the plowland and added it thereto (*i.e.*, to the palace area). With mountain limestone, whose . . . . . , I filled in the terrace. And I summoned the kings of the Hittite-land (Syria) and (those) across the sea,—Ba'lu, king of Tyre, Manasseh, king of Judah, Kaushgabri, king of Edom, Musurri, king of Moab, Sili-Bêl, king of Gaza, Metinti, king

of Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of Ekron, Milki-ashapa, king of Gebail (Byblos), Matan-ba'al, king of Arvad, Abi-baal, king of Samsi-muruna, Budu-il, king of Beth-Ammon, Ahi-milki, king of Ashdod,—twelve kings of the seacoast; Ekishtura, king of Edi'al, Pilâgura, king of Kitrusi, Kîsu, king of Sillûa, Itûandar, king of Pappa, Erêsu, king of Sillu, Damasu, king of Kurî, Atmesu, king of Tamesu, Damûsi, king of Kartihadasti, Unasagusu, king of Lidir, Bususu, king of Nurê,—ten kings of the land of Iatnana (Cyprus), of the midst of the sea: a grand total of 22 kings of the Hittite-land (Syria), the seacoast and the (islands) in the midst of the sea, all of them. I gave them their orders and great beams. . . . . .

691. This is the end of Col. V of Prism B. The beginning of the next column (VI), now broken off, must have contained a text in the main similar to Prism A, Col. V, ll. 14–37. For the next section we have the fragmentary text of Prism S, Col. VI, ll. 1–18.

692. [Door-leaves of cypress, whose odor is pleasant with a sheathing of silver and copper] I [covered and hung in its doors]. [Cow]-colossi [of stone] . . . . . [which by virtue] of their form ward off evil, great bull-colossi . . . . . enormous cow-colossi . . . . . of shining bronze . . . . . and bull-colossi whose . . . . . I placed right and left of [their thresholds]. Lofty bronze columns and columns [of cedar(?) I erected] as posts to support its doors. Around that palace I built [a cornice and frieze] of basalt (*KA*-stone) and lapis lazuli, [surrounding it completely]. A cove and molding(?) like the vault of heaven, I built [all around the gates]. Hooks (pegs) of silver . . . . . (*Break in text.*)

Celebration at the dedication of the palace (*Prism B, Col. VI, ll. 1–12*)

693. With the choicest oils I drenched their foreheads. By the command of Assur, king of the gods, and the gods of

Assyria, all of them, let me dwell therein, forever, in health of body, joy of heart and brightness of countenance. At the New Year's Feast of the first month may I pass in review therein, yearly, without cessation, all the steeds, mules, asses (and) camels, arms and (other) implements of warfare, of all the hosts of the conquered enemy. In that palace, may the friendly bull-colossi, who guard my royal footsteps and gladden my spirits, forever hold sway, may they never depart from its side.

Blessing on the future prince who shall restore the palace (Prism B, Col. VI, ll. 13–21)

694. In future days (whoever it may be) among the kings, my sons, whose name Assur and Ishtar shall name for the rulership of land and people, when that temple becomes old and falls to decay, let him restore its ruins. As I have set up the memorials with the inscription of the name of the king, my father, who begot me, alongside of my own inscribed memorial,—do thou as I (did). Look upon the memorial with the inscription of my name, anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, set it up alongside the memorial with the inscription of thy name. (Then) Assur and Ishtar will hear thy prayers.

695. In the month . . . . . , the eponymy of Atar-ilu, governor of the city of Lahiru.

2. PRISM A

Rebuilding of temples (Col. IV, ll. 38–48)[1]

696. After Assur, Shamash, Bêl (*i.e.*, Marduk) and Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh (and) Ishtar of Arbela had made me to stand upon (the neck) of my foes, in my might, and I had attained unto every desire of my heart in (the way of) victory over my widespreading enemies, which my hands had achieved through the aid of the great gods, my lords, I rebuilt the temples of my metropolises of Assyria and Akkad

[1] For the historical introduction of this text see §§525 f.

and adorned them with silver and gold, making them shine bright as the day.

Restoration of the palace (*Col. IV, l. 49—Col. VI, l. 26*)

697. At that time, the older (*lit.*, former) palace, which (stood) in Nineveh, which the kings who went before me, my fathers, had built for the care of the camp, the sheltering of the (cavalry) horses, mules, chariots, arms, battle equipment and enemy plunder, of all sorts, which Assur, king of the gods, granted me as my royal portion,—that place had come (to seem) too small to me for the exercising of horses and [the maneuvering] of chariots. The people of the lands my arms (*lit.*, bow) had captured I made to carry the basket and head-pad and they made bricks. That small palace I tore down in its entirety. I cut off (a piece of) land, large enough for (my) plans, from the plowland and added it thereto (*i.e.*, to the palace area). With limestone, great blocks from the mountain, I filled in its terrace. I summoned the twenty-two kings of the Hittite-land (Syria), of the seacoast and the (islands) of the midst of the sea, all of them, and I gave them their orders. Great beams and tall trunks, logs (or planks) of cedar and cypress, from Mount Sirara and Mount Lebanon, cow-colossi, facing-slabs of marble, "wheat" stone (Fusulina limestone), breccias (*TUR-MI-NA*, *TUR-MI-NA-MAR-DA*), *EN-GI-SHAH*, *A-LAL-DU* and *GI-NA-HI-LI-BA* stone, from out of the mountains, the place of their origin, for the needs of my palace, I had them drag to Nineveh, with toil and pain.

698. In a favorable month, on a propitious day, on top of that terrace I built mighty palaces for my royal abode. A castle, 95 great cubits in length, 31 great cubits in width, such as none of the kings who went before, my fathers, had built, I constructed. Long (*lit.*, tall) cedar beams I stretched over it (for its roof), door-leaves of cypress, whose scent is

pleasant, I covered with a sheathing of silver and copper and hung (them) in its doors. Protecting colossi of stone, which by virtue of their form ward off evil, guarding the footfall, protecting the path, of the king, their maker, I placed right and left of their (the palaces') thresholds. A palace of limestone and cedar columns (*lit.*, columned limestone and cedar), for my royal comfort, I constructed artistically. Shining bronze colossi, which face you, going in or out (*lit.*, look this way, forward and backward), I set up on either side therein. Lofty columns of cedar I erected as posts to support its doors. Around that palace I built a cornice and frieze of basalt (? *KA*) and lapis lazuli, surrounding it completely. A cove (and) molding(?), like the vault of heaven, I built around all the gates. Hooks (or pegs) of bright silver and shining copper I fastened about the interior. The might of Assur, my lord, which I made (supreme) in (all) hostile lands, I inscribed (engraved) therein by the aid of the stone-cutters' art. A park, like unto Mount Amanus, set out in all kinds of shrubs and trees, I laid out along its side. Its court I made exceedingly large and widened its pavement (*lit.*, way) very much. For the watering of the horses I had a channel run through it and kept it flowing like an irrigation ditch. That palace from its foundation to its top I constructed, I completed, with opulence I filled it. Eshgalshiddudua, the "Palace Which Guards Everything," I called its name.

Dedication (*Col. VI, ll. 27–40*)

699. Assur, Ishtar of Nineveh, all the gods of Assyria, I invited into its midst. Pure sacrifices in great numbers I offered before them and presented my gifts. Those gods blessed my kingship from the bottom of their hearts (*lit.*, in the firmness of their hearts). The nobles and the people of my land, all of them, I made to sit down therein, at feasts

and banquets of choice dishes, and gratify their appetites. With grape-wine and sesame-wine I "sprinkled their hearts," with choicest oils I drenched their foreheads.

Blessing invoked (*Col. VI, ll. 41–56*)

700. By the command of Assur, king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria, all of them, let me dwell therein, forever, in health of body, joy of heart and brightness of countenance. At the New Year's Feast of the first month, may I pass in review therein, yearly, without cessation, all the steeds, mules, asses (and) camels, arms and (other) implements of warfare, of all the hosts of the conquered enemy. In that palace, may the friendly bull-colossi, who guard my royal footsteps and gladden my spirits, forever hold sway, may they never [depart from its side].

(*The text breaks off in the middle of a sentence. See Prism B+S, §§ 693 f.*)

700A. A prism fragment (K 2745), published by Meissner-Rost, *BA*, III, 285, was probably inscribed with a text commemorating the restoration of the palace (or some temple) at Nineveh.

700B. (*Col. II.*) [Esarhaddon, etc. the king who overthrew . . . . . .] who put (*lit.*, cast) reins on the kings of the four regions (of the world), the peoples of the conquered enemy lands, the plunder of my bow, which as my royal portion they (the gods) had presented to me, I caused to carry the basket and the headpad, and to mold bricks. Some swamp(?) land, inside the city of Nineveh, [by] the square of Sin and Shamash . . . . . (*Col. III*) . . . . . I roofed (it). Great (*lit.*, high) door-leaves of cypress, the gift of my son, I hung in its gates. That house I built, I completed. With splendor I filled it. The gods Assur, Mashmash (Urta), Sin, Shamash, Adad, Ishtar, Nabû and Marduk, the gods dwelling in Nineveh, I invited therein. [Before] them [I sacrificed splendid,] pure sacrifices and [offered my] gifts. . . . . .

III. ESARHADDON'S BUILDING ACTIVITIES AT ASSUR

701. The German excavators at Kalat-Sherkat (Assur) have brought to light a number of monuments of Esarhaddon recording the monarch's building activities in the ancient capital.

1. TEXT ON A TABLET FROM ASSUR

The first text to be given is from a tablet (with variants from two six-sided prisms) published in *KAH*, II, No. 125.

702. Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, exalted prince, beloved of Assur and Ninlil, over whom you have spread your protecting shadow and whom you have preserved for kingship, all of whose foes you have slain, whom you have made to attain to his (heart's) desire, whom you seated with might upon his father's throne and to whom you intrusted the rule of (all) lands; son of Sennacherib, king of universe, king of Assyria (*v. adds*, maker of the images of Assur and the great gods); (grand)son of Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria (*v. adds*, who was mindful of the shrine of Assur and Ninlil).

The earlier temple of Assur, which Shalmaneser, son of Adad-nirâri, king of Assyria, a prince who lived before me, had built, fell into decay. 586 years elapsed and it (again) fell into decay. That temple,—the place of its site I did not change, but upon gold, silver, precious stones, herbs (and) cedar (*hashur*)-oil I established its foundation walls and laid its brickwork. I built and completed it, I made it magnificent, to the astonishment of the peoples. For life (*lit.*, my life), for length of days, for the stability of my reign, for the welfare of my posterity, for the safety of my priestly throne, for the overthrow of my enemies, for the success of the harvest(s) of Assyria, for the welfare of Assyria, I built it.

2. TEXT RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS OF THREE PRISMS

703. A similar text, restored from fragments of three prisms, is published in *KAH*, II, No. 126, and *ibid.*, I, No. 51.

704. . . . . . peoples . . . . . name . . . . . neglected gods . . . . . [Nabû[1], lord of right, ... justice . . . . . people, I am king(?) . . . . . the path of justice [and] right they(?) took and . . . . . .-th day, fourteenth day, ... an observation (of the stars) . . . . . of the stars . . . . . west wind.

. . . . . gods . . . . . took(?) . . . . . decided(?) . . . . . Amurru, ... Ea . . . . . and(?) his land . . . . . of the priest(?) . . . . . [my priestly[1] throne . . . . . to distant days . . . . . and . . . . . land(?) . . . . . and(?) ways . . . . . my reign . . . . . against (upon) me.

705. Those omens of favor I saw, and I was confident of heart and joyous of soul (*lit.*, liver). (The people of) Assur, the earlier capital, whose (feudal) protection and thresholds[1] have been in existence (*lit.*, established) since days of old, along with (those of) the men of Anu and Enlil:—now, as for me, Enlil's (man), I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria,—the people of Assur, like my precious life I love them. (That) their freedom (immunity) should be greatly increased over what (it was) before, I commanded (*lit.*, wrote) anew. I made (that city) larger than it was in former days, I made it great, I made it lofty, I made it splendid. From the grain levy, the wharfage and gate tolls of my land, I freed them. Their independence I established for all time to come; in their gate I set up (the charter) of their autonomy.

706. The earlier temple of Assur, which Ushpia, my ancestor, priest of Assur, had built aforetime, fell to ruins and Erishu, son of Ilu-shuma, my ancestor, priest of Assur, rebuilt it. 126 years elapsed and it again fell to ruins, when Shamshi-Adad, son of Bêl-kabi, my ancestor, priest of Assur, rebuilt it. 434 years elapsed and that temple was destroyed in a conflagration of fire. Shalmaneser, son of Adad-nirâri,

[1] *I.e.*, their homes.

my ancestor, priest of Assur, rebuilt it.[1] 580 years elapsed and the sanctuary (of) that temple,—the *shahuru*-house, the house (shrine) of the god Kubu, the dwelling of Assur, my lord, the house of the god Dipar, the house of Ea, became dilapidated, old and aged. But I hesitated to rebuild that temple. I was afraid, I put it off. [Through an oracle⌉ of the soothsayer, they (the gods) made their will known. That I should rebuild that temple (and) restore its building(s), they caused their command to be written down.

707. I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the humble king, the exalted prince, favorite of the great gods, gathered together the peoples of the lands which my hands had conquered, I made them carry the basket and headpad. That temple, from its ⌈turrets⌉ to its foundation walls, [I rebuilt]. In [fine (good)] oil, butter, [honey], resin, I laid (*v.*, I sprinkled) its walls(?) . . . . . .

708. I, [Esarhaddon], the ⌈prayerful⌉ . . . . . with (my?) hands I formed [bricks] . . . . . people . . . . . I caused to carry . . . . . to . . . . . people . . . . . .

3. ALABASTER TABLET FROM ASSUR

709. On an alabaster tablet from Assur we have a summary of Esarhaddon's building activities at Assur and Babylon. In the historical résumé, which forms the introduction, we find the interesting identification of Iadnana, here written "Iadanana," with Javan (Iaman). Iadnana, usually and, no doubt, correctly, regarded as Cyprus, seems to be a compound meaning Isles of the Danaoi (in the Egyptian inscriptions, Denyen). The writer has also suggested the identification of Nusisi with Knossos (*ZA*, XXVIII, 92 f.). One should note, also, the occurrence in the text of the long-sought cuneiform equivalent of the biblical cherub (cherubim). Text published in *KAH*, I, 75.

710. . . . . . and . . . . . I cut down with the sword, I conquered, [from out of the sea] like a fish I caught

[1] Cf. Vol. I, § 119.

him and cut off his head. I trod upon [Arzani, on] the ⌜Brook of Egypt,⌝[1] Asuhili, its king, I threw into fetters, and carried him off [to Assyria]. ⌜I conquered⌝ Bâzu, a district whose place is afar off. Upon Ka—a, its(?) king, I imposed tribute and my royal tax. I conquered the land of Shupria in its entirety. ⌜Inib⌝-Teshub, its king, who was not obedient to my command, I slew with the sword. I captured Tyre which is in the midst of the sea. Ba'lu, its king, who had trusted in Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (Kûsi),—all of his cities, his property, I took away from him. I conquered Egypt, Upper Egypt and Ethiopia.[1] Tirhakah, its king, five times I fought with him with my javelin, and I brought all of his land under my sway, I ⌜ruled (it)]. The kings of the midst of the sea, all of them, from Iadanana, (which is) Javan, as far as Nusisi (Knossos),[2] submitted at my feet. Rich tribute I received. Over the princes of the four quarters (of the earth) I established might, and upon all of my enemies I spattered the venom of death. Gold, silver, property, goods, people, great and small, horses, cattle, sheep,—their enormous, countless spoil I carried away to Assyria. Kings, governors, prefects, mayors, I set over their lands, and imposed upon them the yoke of ⌜Assur⌝, my lord. Offerings and dues ⌜for Assur] and the great gods, [my] lords, I established for all time. Tribute and my royal taxes, yearly, ⌜without cessation⌝, I imposed upon them. They bore (drew) my yoke.

711. At that time the old (former) temple of Assur, which Shalmaneser, son of Adad-nirâri, son of Arik-dini-ilu, my ancestor, had built aforetime, became old and ruinous. I tore down that temple, I penetrated to its foundation; its foundation walls I built of great blocks of mountain stone, (making it strong) as the structure of the mountain. From

[1] Musur, Patur[si] and Kusi.

[2] But see Jensen, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, p. 1001, where Nusisi is said to be a mistake of the copyist for Tarsisi (Tarshish).

its foundation to its top I built, I completed it. I roofed it with great beams of cedar, products of Mount ⌜Sirara⌝, which I had cut down in the course of a campaign of mine. Door-leaves of cypress, whose odor is pleasant, I covered with a sheathing of gold and hung them in its doors. The sanctuary of Assur, my lord, I inlaid with gold. *Lahmê* and cherubim[1] of ruddy *sariru*, I set up, side by (*lit.*, to) side. The inner sanctuary of Assur, my lord,—images of gold, creatures of the deep, I set up on its right and its left. The walls I "plastered" with ⌜gold⌝, like plaster. (*Rev.*) The shrine of destinies, the noble shrine, wherein Assur takes up his abode and decrees the destinies of heaven and earth, which the kings, my ancestors, ⌜had built⌝ of burnt brick, adorning it with *zahalu*, I rebuilt, artistically, out of 180 talents of *eshmarû*. My royal image, supplicating their divinities, imploring pardon(?), and an image of Assurbanipal, my begotten son, I carved upon it. Its two fish-men I set over against each other, so their faces looked (one) forward, (the other) back. ⌜Adapas⌝, by the gate (named) "Bearing Food," of shining bronze I fashioned and, as the span(?) of Enlil, I set them up. 2 *a*— . . . . . according to the artisan's workmanship, I had skilfully constructed and by the gate of . . . . . right and left, I had them occupy places. "Raging Storms," made of *zahalu*, (by) the threshold of . . . . . , right and left, ... ⌜I set them up⌝.

712. In that year, Esagila, the palaces, Imgur-Bêl, its wall, [Nimit-Bêl, its outer wall,⌝, ⌜I completed⌝, from its foundation to its top I built it anew and made it ⌜far⌝ greater than it was before. (My) god (lord) and goddess, the gods all of them, with 200 (more),—as many of them as ⌜at the command of Assur(?)⌝ were begotten and in Eharsaggalkurkurra were duly born,—Bêl of Babylon, Ea, Shulmanu(?), in the midst of the city of Assur, where the creation of the gods

[1] *lahmê kuribi.*

took place, I completed ⌜their creation]. Out of 30 talents of ruddy *sariru*, a product of(?) Arallu (the lower world), ... which for workmanship (of this kind) is not used, I fashioned their great bodies (*lit.*, I made gigantic their members), ... which for their majesties had been made exceedingly great, and their necks I adorned(?) and . . . . . they were perfected(?) (*or*, went straight ahead) and from (after) Eharsaggalkurkurra, like Shamash . . . . . they took the road to Shuanna (Babylon), a road of rejoicing, ... Babylon, to 600 . . . . . fat bulls, and I, Esarhaddon, [who fears(?)] their divinity . . . . . into the midst of Babylon, the city of their choice, I brought them, in . . . . . The (irrigation) ditch of the gardens of Ekarzaginna, the holy place, in (with . . . . .) . . . . . (of)the opening of the mouth(?), the place of purification, before ⌜Babylon⌝ . . . . . Shamash, the god . . . . . the gods Mah, Kubu, Nin-a— . . . . . entered. . . . . .

4. FRAGMENT OF AN EIGHT-SIDED PRISM FROM ASSUR

713. From Assur also came the fragment of an eight-sided prism containing the account of the restoration of the temple of Esharra. The prism was written in the second year of Esarhaddon's reign, 679 B.C. Only the lower part of Cols. IV–VIII is preserved; and of Col. IV only a few signs of the ends of the lines (text, *KAH*, II, No. 127).

714. (*Col. V*) . . . . . [A memorial] with my name (inscribed thereon) I made and set (it) up therein. Its wall(s) with oil, choice oil, table-oil(?), honey, butter (and) resin I sprinkled. For the life of my soul, for length of days, I carried the first brick on my (own) back. I laid its foundation wall, I constructed its brickwork.

715. At the approach of the second year, I . . . . . the . . . . of Esharra. . . . . .

716. (*Col. VI*) . . . . . to their places I returned. I purified it, I made it shine like the sun. Its topmost turrets reached (*lit.*, stood) to heaven. Below, its base (*lit.*, root) struck down into the *apsu* (nether waters). All kinds of temple vessels (furniture) needed for Esharra, I made anew and placed therein.

717. (When) Assur, king of the gods, comes into the lofty abode of his sovereignty, ...

718. (*Col. VII*) . . . . . I kept foreigners (foreign seed) out of its midst, and I appeased his anger. Assur, king of the gods, looked favorably upon my pious deeds, his heart rejoiced, his soul was glad (*lit.*, his liver shone). My prayer for length of days he granted me and as builder of the temple he addressed me. I, together with my nobles (and) the people of my land, for three days [celebrated] in the court of Esharra. . . . . .

719. (*Col. VIII*) . . . . . the gods . . . . . may he look upon ⌜him in anger⌝, may he overthrow ⌜his rule⌝, destroy [his] name and his seed from the land. May he have no pity upon him.

The month *Simânu*, the eponymy of Itti- [Adad-aninu], the[1] . . . . . , the[1] . . . . . .

5. VASE INSCRIPTION

720. Two alabaster vases, found in the ruins of Assur-nâsir-pal's palace at Assur, were inscribed with the following text (published, *KAH*, I, No. 52):

721. Palace of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; the mighty in battle and strife, who overthrows his enemies; son of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; vases of oil, large and

[1] The man's titles stood here.

full, which (came) with the rich goods of every kind (*lit.*, name), from the treasure of the palace of Abdi-milkuti, king of Sidon, which is in the midst of the sea, which my strong arm (*lit.*, hand) captured with the aid of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbela.

6. AMULET INSCRIPTION

722. On a piece of lapis lazuli and on an onyx amulet we find the text published in *KAH*, I, Nos. 53 and 54.

723. I am Assur-etil-ilâni-mukîn-apli, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria; builder of the temple of Assur, (re)builder) of Esagila and Babylon, restorer of the shrines of the metropolis, who perfected the cult (service) (and) fixed the offerings of the great gods, am I. (*KAH, I, No. 54, adds*, who fears the gods and goddesses of heaven and earth, who is exceedingly wise.)

7. "MUSHLALU" INSCRIPTION

724. On blocks of limestone found *in situ* we have the text recording Esarhaddon's restoration of the *mushlal* (text, *KAH*, I, No. 55).

725. Palace of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; son of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the *mushlal*-structure, which is in the palace of the city of Assur for entrance and exit, I caused to be built anew, its foundation platform I constructed of white limestone.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

1. THE NEGÛB TUNNEL INSCRIPTION

726. The digging and repairing of canals, the diversion of waters from their natural riverbeds, were some of the problems of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings. Assur-nâsir-pal had brought some of the water of the upper Zab, through a tunnel (*negûb*), into the plain of

Calah. This tunnel Esarhaddon found clogged up, and a new tunnel was cut. The inscription carved upon the rock wall in commemoration of this work has finally reached the Berlin Museum (cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur Ält. Geschichte Armeniens*, pp. 50 f.). The text was published by Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plate 35, and again in *VS*, I, No. 79.

727. . . . . . ⌜avenger of his father(?)⌝ . . . . . powerful . . . . who spread his kindly protecting shadow over all peoples, [am I. Son of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty[1] king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria, ⌜viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad⌝], descendant of Bêl-bani, son of ⌜Adasi⌝ . . . . . who brought the earlier Tebiltu River, which Assur-nâsir-apal, [a prince, who went before me] . . . . . out of the Zaban River, above the plain of Kalhu (Calah). . . . . ,

728. . . . . . that river without any breaking(?) . . . . . the needed (desired). . . . The clay for 10(? paces, a way(?) . . . . ⌜I removed⌝, a pile of dirt I filled in and made it firm ground (*lit.*, counted it ground) . . . . . I made it like plowland. All kinds [of fruit and herbs] . . . . . its great timbers . . . . . was flooded and its . . . . . .

2. CYLINDER INSCRIPTIONS COMMEMORATING THE RESTORATION OF EANNA

729. Esarhaddon's restoration of Eanna, the "house of heaven," the ancient sanctuary of Southern Babylonia, is commemorated in a number of cylinder inscriptions.

a. The first text (81-6-7,209, British Museum) was published by Meissner-Rost, *BA*, III, 351 f.[1]

730. To Ishtar, the lady, surpassing great, ruler of heaven and earth, the powerful warrior-(queen) of the gods; Ishtar of Erech, the noble princess, who receives heaven's decree(s),

[1] A cast of a duplicate cylinder on which occur a large number of variant readings is owned by Haskell Museum.

who directs the enforcement of law; the honored, renowned, who looks approvingly upon the king she favors, making his reign endure (*lit.*, grow old), granting him power and might; queen of the habitations (of men), exalted among the gods, who abides in E-nergal-anna, which is in Eanna; lady of Erech, the great lady, his lady.

731. Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, who is led by the hand of Assur, (who is) the definite choice of the heart of Enlil, called of Marduk, favorite of Irnini; who from his youth put his trust in Assur, Anu, Enlil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Marduk, Nabû, Nergal and Ishtar, the great gods, his lords, and they caused him to attain to his (heart's) desire; who experienced (*lit.*, saw) their might, over whom, for their divine heart's peace and soul's comfort, they spread their eternal protecting shadow; who ruled all lands through the might of Assur, Bêl, son of Bêl, and Ishtar, the gods, his allies, and brought all princes into submission at his feet; builder of the temple of Assur, restorer of Esagila and Babylon, who builds Eanna anew, completely (restores) sanctuaries and cities, establishing their revenues; the king in the days of whose reign the great lord Marduk had compassion on Babylon (and) took up his abode (once more) in Esagila, his temple; who brought (back) to his city Dêr, and his temple E-dimgal-kalamma, the great Anu and caused him to abide (again) in his eternal shrine. The gods of the lands, who had betaken themselves to Assyria, their equipment I restored, returned them from Assyria to their own places and fixed their incomes (*lit.*, portion).

732. I (am) the wise, the thoughtful prince, inventor of all (kinds of) plans, who establishes in all large metropolises the traditional (*lit.*, appropriate) cults and sees that the rites are properly performed. Son of Sennacherib, king of the uni-

verse, king of Assyria; (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; descendant of Bêl-bâni, son of Adasi, king of Assyria; scion of Assur, precious (seed) of royalty, of the endless eternity.

733. When Eanna, the house of god, beloved of Ishtar, my lady, which a former king had built, became old and its walls fell in, I carefully determined its outlines, removed its ruined portions, searched for its (old) foundation platform, and, following its ancient lines, I (re)built it with brick, I completed it, high as the mountain I raised its head aloft. May Ishtar, the lady, the surpassing great, look with joy upon this work, may gracious words be on her lips for me; against all my foes may she make my arms prevail (*lit.*, bitter).

734. Whenever, in the days to come, a future prince (finds) that work falling to decay in his reign, sustaining serious injury, may he carefully determine its outlines, repair its damage, anoint with oil the memorial with my name inscribed (upon it), offer sacrifices, and set it up in its (proper) place. (Then) the gods will hear his prayers. He will have length of days, he will have abundant posterity (*lit.*, enlarge his family). But whoever destroys the memorial with my name inscribed (thereon), by means of some clever device, or changes its location, may Ishtar the great lady, look upon him in anger and destroy his name and his seed in every land.

735. *b.* The restoration of Energalanna, the shrine of Ishtar of Erech, is recorded in the text published by Clay in *YOS*, I, No. 41.

736. To Ishtar of Erech, ruler of heaven and earth, valiant (queen) of the gods, and noble lady, surpassing great, who directs the divine decree(s), whose hand controls every ceremony, empress of the goddesses, whose word is supreme in the councils(?) of heaven (above) and in the underworld; goddess of battle and warfare, who marches at the side of

the king who (has gained) her favor, who shatters his foes; who dwells in Energalanna, which is in Eanna; lady of Erech, the great lady, his lady:

737. Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; the humble king, who seeks out the places (of worship) of the great gods, who fears the lord of lords, builder of the temple of Assur, restorer of Esagila and Babylon, beautifier of Ezida, who repairs Eanna, completely renewing the shrines of (every) metropolis wherein are established the traditional (appropriate) cults; son of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad.

738. Energalanna, the shrine of Ishtar, my lady, which is in Eanna, which a former king had made, had become old and sustained (serious) injury. I carefully sought out its location, with handsome bricks from the kiln I repaired its damage. The hands of Ishtar of Erech, my lady, I grasped, and into its midst I led her, making it (her) eternal abode. I offered splendid sacrifices, I adorned (draped) the door of her (shrine).

739. Mayest thou, O Ishtar of Erech, noble lady, as thou makest that shrine thy joyful abode, for me, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, have on thy lips a word of grace.

740. Life everlasting, abundant posterity, health of body and joy of heart, decree as my destiny. In war and battle fight furiously at my side, let me wipe out my foes like ants.

741. Whenever, in days to come, a future prince (finds) that shrine falling to decay in his reign, let him restore its decay, let him write my name along with his name, let him anoint with oil the memorial inscription with my name, let him offer sacrifices and set it up alongside of his memorial. And the gods will hear his prayers. But he who blots out my written name by means of some clever device, destroys my

memorial, or changes its location, may Ishtar of Erech look upon him in anger, decree an evil destiny for him, blot out his name and seed in the land. Yea, may she have no mercy upon him.

742. *c.* The repairs made by Esarhaddon on Ehelianna, another shrine in Eanna, are recorded in the text found in *YOS*, I, No. 40.

743. To Nanâ, queen of Erech, the great lady, his lady, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, who seeks out the (dwelling-) places of the great gods, builder of the temple of Assur, restorer of Esagila and Babylon, who repairs Eanna, completely renews the shrines of every metropolis, who establishes therein the traditional cults. Conqueror from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, who brought all princes in submission at his feet; son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad.

744. Ehelianna, the shrine of Nanâ, my lady, which Nazimaraddash, king of Babylon, had built, Erîba-Marduk, king of Babylon, had restored, became old and sustained (serious) injury. I carefully sought out its location(?), with handsome bricks from the kiln I repaired its damage. The hands of Nanâ, my lady, I grasped and led her into the midst, making it (her) eternal abode. As Nanâ looks with pleasure upon that work, for me, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, may there be a favorable word on her lips before Nabû, my lord.

745. Whoever blots out the inscription of my name by means of some clever device, destroys my memorial or changes its location, may Nabû look upon him in anger, and destroy his name and his seed.

746. *d.* A text commemorating the same pious work of Esarhaddon is published in *RA*, XI, 98 f., duplicate in *CT*, XXXVI, Plates 15 f.

747. To Nanâ, (most) lovely (*lit.*, sweet) of the goddesses, adorned with plenty and abundance, full of splendor; first-born of Anu, surpassing great, whose might is the greatest among all the goddesses; noble spouse of Nabû (Muzibsâ), exalted consort, beloved of his majesty; compassionate goddess (Antum), who comes to the aid of the king who fears her, who prolongs (*lit.*, makes to grow old) his reign; who dwells in Ehilianna, which is in Eanna; queen of Erech, the great lady:

748. Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, the humble king who seeks out the (dwelling-) places of the great gods, worshiper of the lord of lords, builder of the temple of Assur, restorer of Esagil and Babylon, who adorns Ezida, repairs Eanna, completely renews the shrines of (every) metropolis, who establishes therein the traditional cults; son of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad.

749. Ehilianna, the shrine of Nanâ, my lady, which is in Eanna, (the temple) which a former king had built, had become old and sustained (serious) injury. I carefully determined its outlines, with handsome (*lit.*, bright, *meaning perhaps*, glazed) bricks from the kiln I repaired its damage. The hands of Nanâ, my great lady, I grasped and led her unto its midst, making it (her) eternal abode. I offered splendid sacrifices and adorned (draped) the door of her (shrine).

750. Mayest thou, O Nanâ, noble lady, as thou makest that shrine thy joyful abode, for me, Esarhaddon, the prince who fears thee, intercede before Nabû, thy spouse; life everlasting, abundant posterity, health of body and joy of heart, decree as my destiny. Establish the foundation of my

throne firm as bed rock. Make my reign (line) endure as long as heaven and earth.

751. Whenever, in days to come, a future prince (finds) that shrine falling to decay in his reign, let him restore its decay, let him write my name along with his name, let him anoint with oil the memorial inscribed with my name, let him offer sacrifices, and set it up alongside of his memorial. And the gods will hear his prayers. But he who blots out my written name by means of some clever device, destroys my memorial, or changes its location, may Nanâ, the all-powerful lady, look upon him in anger, decree an evil destiny for him and blot out his name and seed in the land. Yea, may she have no mercy upon him.

3. INSCRIPTIONS ON BRICKS, VASES, ETC.

752. The following inscriptions on bricks, vases, etc., throw light mainly upon Esarhaddon's building activities.

a) Inscription on a weight (IR, 48, No. 4)

753. The abode of Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria: booty of Egypt (and) Kush (Ethiopia).

b) Brick inscription (ibid., No. 2)

754. Palace of Esarhaddon, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria.

c) Brick inscription (ibid., No. 3)

755. The abode of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sargon, king of Assyria.

d) Vase inscription (ibid., No. 7)

756. Palace of Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of Babylonia (Karduniash).

e) Brick inscription (ibid., No. 8)

757. Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the palace which is in the city of Tarbisu, from its foundation to its top he has built anew.

f) Brick inscription (ibid., No. 6)

758. I, Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the kings of Egypt, Paturisi (Upper Egypt) (and) Kush, the abode which is in the city of Tarbisu, for the dwelling of Assurbanipal, the oldest prince of the palace (harem), offspring of my loins, I built, I completed.

g) Inscription on back of a slab (Layard, Inscriptions, Plate 19, No. 1)

759. Palace of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, builder of the house of Assur, restorer of Esagil and Babylon, renewer of the image(s) of the great gods, king of Egypt, who bound the king of Meluhha (*i.e.*, Kush, Ethiopia)[1], king of the four regions (of the world), son of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

h) Brick inscription (IR, 48, No. 9)[2]

760. For Marduk, his lord, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, the bricks of Esagila and Babylon he caused to be molded anew.

i) Inscription on small stone tablet (CT, XXXVI, Plate 14)

761. I am Assur-etil-ilâni-mukîn-apli, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of the uni-

[1] *V. omits*, builder of, etc., *and has instead*, king of the kings of Egypt, Upper Egypt (and) Kush, king of the four regions, etc.

[2] Cf. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, pp. 204 f.

verse, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sargon, king of the universe, king of Assyria; builder of the temple of Assur, restorer of Esagil in Babylon, who renews the sanctuaries of (every) metropolis, carrying out the decrees and establishing the income (offerings) of the great gods, am I.

761A. Among the miscellaneous texts must also be included the fragmentary inscription K 2711 (published in Meissner-Rost, *BA*, III, 315 f.), which seems to have given a résumé of Esarhaddon's building activities throughout the Empire.

761B. (*Ll. 1–19 almost totally gone.*) Kar-Assur-ah-iddina, I dedicated . . . . . 3 *homers*, 1 *she* of honey . . . . . which I had dedicated . . . . . from the city of Kar-Assur . . . . . lambs, 24 *homers* of flour which . . . . . in the land of Egypt (Musur) is called . . . . . , ... 3 *homers*, 1 *she* of honey, ... which Assur, the great lord, had put into my hand, I dedicated . . . . . Egypt and Ethiopia (Kusi) . . . . . Sumer and Akkad, I inlaid it(?), and made it shine like the day . . . . . I made and set up therein . . . . . Dagan, the first-born son, whom the king of the gods, Assur . . . . . skilled architects, who lay down plans, ... (of) the Iku-constellation ("Field"-star, Aries and Cetus), I laid its foundation platform . . . . . as one, I gathered together . . . . . I clothed, I established their freedom . . . . . to set out orchards, I encouraged them . . . . . of shining copper, in the workmanship of Ninagal, I fashioned . . . . . I . . . . . and to Bêl, my lord, I presented it as a gift . . . . . which had become old, ... skilled artisans, I laid its foundation platform (*Rev.*) . . . . . to Nabû, my lord, I presented as a gift . . . . . I completed. The gods dwelling therein . . . . . of shining silver and hoes of ruddy gold . . . . . I built anew . . . . . of silver I had it made and in Emashmash, the abode of Bêlit,

my lady . . . . . Nabû and Tashmetu, had become old, I renewed, I repaired the damage . . . . . the heart, and caused to bow down before (under) them . . . . . In Nineveh there was no . . . . . , by the side of the gate inside the city . . . . . colossal lions, *zû* (bird)-creatures, *lahme*, of silver and bronze, I had them make . . . . . Ezida, the temple of Nabu, which is in Borsippa, ... 2 wild oxen of silver, 2 wild oxen of copper, 2 *Suhur*-fish of copper . . . . . according to the workmanship of the gods Gushkin-banda and Ninagal, I fashioned it artistically and . . . . . the abode of decision (oracles) of Nabû, guardian of all of heaven and earth . . . . . bright silver I made it artistically and a chariot of shining copper . . . . . wild oxen of bright copper I fashioned artistically and . . . . . which is in Arbela with silver (and) gold I inlaid and caused to shine like the day . . . . . of copper I had it made, and caused it occupy a place by the entrance of its gate . . . . . in it, I built and surrounded it with a retaining wall. . . . . Marduk and Ishtar, the lady, the queen, more than the kings my fathers, I enlarged . . . . . and made her form larger. The House of the New Year's Feast, the temple of feasting, ... and restored (carried out) her cults . . . . . that of silver, of burnt brick, *KA*-stone, lapis lazuli . . . . . great columns of cedar, I made and . . . . . In the month *Ululu* the seventeenth day . . . . . I set up before them . . . . . they(?) brought in haste, their sacrifices . . . . . fat . . . . . in the Temple of the New Year's Feast, I caused them to dwell. Nergal . . . . . 10 lambs, 10 birds, 7 *homers* of wine, 4 *homers* of . . . . . that flour, for the table of their great godhead . . . . . in the Temple of the New Year's Feast I set before (him) . . . . . my lord I . . . . . I laid its brickwork . . . . . I caused to enter, like . . . . . .

abode of rest . . . . . return, her, with the gods, her counselors, I caused to enter and inhabit an abode of peace . . . . . its foundation platform I laid down, I laid its brickwork . . . . . I caused to enter Esheriga and take up (their) abodes . . . . . Nergal . . . . . silver, gold and iron, I had them make . . . . . of the city of Musasir . . . . . which(?) Sennacherib . . . . . .

CHAPTER IX

ASSURBANIPAL; THE CYLINDER TEXTS

762. In the reign of Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.) we reach the high-water mark of Assyrian historical writing—as regards quantity and literary merit. But, unfortunately for the modern historian, the process of re-editing the accounts of the events of the reign for the greater glory of the king was also carried to its logical conclusion. Olmstead[1] points out an interesting example. From what is probably our earliest document from the reign (K 2846) as well as from the Babylonian Chronicle, we know that a minor expedition was conducted against Kirbit on the Elamite frontier by one of the Assyrian governors, in the accession year of the king. In Cylinder B, written 648 B.C., this becomes the king's "fourth campaign" (§ 841), two campaigns against Egypt and one against Tyre preceding it. In the Rassam Cylinder, the finished product in the way of annals of the king, written sometime between 644 and 636 B.C., Kirbit is entirely lost in the scramble. Furthermore, the great literary activity of Assurbanipal seems to have come in the second part of his reign, after the overthrow of Shamash-shum-ukîn in 648 B.C., and even when our documents are dated by eponyms we are in doubt as to their sequence, since the order of the eponymous years from 648 on is in doubt. It has seemed best, therefore, to follow Streck[2] in arranging the documents into groups of cylinder inscriptions, steles, etc.

I. THE RASSAM CYLINDER

763. The so-called Rassam Cylinder, published in VR, Plates 1–10, is dated in the eponymy of Shamash-dâninanni (to be placed somewhere between 644 and 636 B.C.). Duplicates are K 8537 (Cylinder A), published in IIIR, Plates 17–26, and in G. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, K 3402, published in IIIR, Plate 35, No. 5, and a Berlin fragment,

[1] *Historiography*, pp. 53 ff.

[2] *Assurbanipal*. Most of the philological notes in this standard edition of Assurbanipal's historical inscriptions (which should be consulted for its bibliography) would have been rendered unnecessary had the author been able to collate the originals in the British Museum before issuing his work. A new edition of the text of the Assurbanipal records is needed.

published in *VS*, I, No. 81. The first two of these are also dated in the eponymy of Shamash-dâninanni.

764. These and the following prisms (so they should be designated, rather than cylinders) of Assurbanipal, like those of the other Assyrian kings, were inscribed and set up in commemoration of royal building operations—the Rassam Cylinder at the completion of the rebuilding of the royal palace at Nineveh.

Introductory paragraphs (Col. I, ll. 1–51)

765. I (am) Assurbanipal, offspring (creature) of Assur and Bêlit, the oldest prince of the royal harem (*bît-ridûti*), whose name Assur and Sin, the lord of the tiara, have named for the kingship from earliest (*lit.*, distant) days, whom they formed in his mother's womb, for the rulership of Assyria; whom Shamash, Adad and Ishtar, by their unalterable (*lit.*, established) decree, have ordered to exercise sovereignty.

766. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who begot me, respected the word of Assur and Bêlit-ilê (the Lady of the Gods), his tutelary (divinities), when they gave the command that I should exercise sovereignty; in the month of *Airu*, the month of Ea, the lord of mankind, the twelfth day, an auspicious day, a feast day of Gula, at the sublime command which Assur, Bêlit, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal, Nusku, uttered, he gathered together the people of Assyria, great and small, from the upper to (*lit.*, and) the lower sea. That they would accept (*lit.*, guard) my crown-princeship, and later my kingship, he made them take oath by the great gods, and (so) he strengthened the bonds (between them and me).

767. In joy and gladness I entered the royal harem,—the splendid seat, the bond of royalty, wherein Sennacherib, the father of the father, my begetter, spent his days as crown prince and as king, in which Esarhaddon, the father who begot me, was born, grew up, and exercised the rulership over Assyria, (where) he begot all the princes, increased (his)

family, gathered together (his) kith and kin, and wherein, I, Assurbanipal, laid hold upon the wisdom of Nabû, penetrated into all (the intricacies) of the art of writing, as practiced by all kinds of craftsmen, learned how to shoot with the bow, to ride horses and chariots, to hold the reins.

768. By order of the great gods, whose names I called upon, extolling their glory, who commanded that I should exercise sovereignty, assigned me the task of adorning their sanctuaries, assailed my opponents on my behalf, slew my enemies, the valiant hero, beloved of Assur and Ishtar, scion of royalty, am I.

769. After Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal and Nusku, had caused me to take my seat, joyfully, upon the throne of the father who begot me, Adad sent his rains, Ea opened his fountains, the grain grew 5 cubits tall in the stalk, the ear was $\frac{5}{6}$ of a cubit long, heavy crops and a plenteous yield made the field(s) continuously luxuriant, the orchards yielded a rich harvest, the cattle successfully brought forth their young,—in my reign there was fulness to overflowing, in my years there was plenteous abundance.

First campaign against Egypt (*Col. I, l. 52—Col. II, l. 27*)

770. In my first campaign I marched against Magan and Meluhha. Tarkû (Tirhakah), king of Egypt and Ethiopia (Kush), whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who begot me, had defeated, and whose land he had brought under his sway,—that Tarkû forgot the power of Assur, Ishtar and the great gods, my lords, and trusted in his own strength. Against the kings, the governors, whom my father had installed in Egypt, he marched, (intent) on slaying, plundering and seizing Egypt. He broke in upon them and established himself (*lit.*, sat down) in Memphis, the city which my father had captured and added to the territory of Assyria. A swift

courier came to Nineveh and reported to me. At these deeds my heart became enraged, my soul cried out. I raised my hands in prayer to Assur and the Assyrian Ishtar. I mustered my mighty forces, which Assur and Ishtar had placed into my hands. Against Egypt and Ethiopia, I directed the march.

771. In the course of my march, 22 kings of the seacoast, of the midst of the sea and of the mainland, servants, subject to me, brought their rich (heavy) presents before me and kissed my feet. Those kings, together with their forces, on their ships by sea, on the dry land with my armies, I caused to take path and road. To hurry aid to the kings, the governors, who were in Egypt, servants, subject to me, I hastily advanced, marching as far as Kâr-bânîti. Tarkû, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, heard of the advance of my army, in Memphis, and mustered his fighting men against me, offering armed resistance and battle. With the help of Assur, Bêl, Nabû, the great gods, my lords, who advance at my side, I defeated his army in a battle on the open (*lit.*, wide) plain. Tarkû heard of the defeat of his armies, while in Memphis. The terrible splendor of Assur and Ishtar overcame him and he went mad. The glory of my majesty, with which the gods of heaven and earth have crowned (adorned) me, overpowered (*lit.*, covered) him. He forsook Memphis and fled to save his life, to Ni' (Thebes). That city I seized; I had my troops enter and occupy it. Nikû (Necoh), king of Memphis and Sais, Sharru-lu-dari, king of Si'nu, Pishanhuru, king of Nathû, Pakruru, king of Pishaptu, Bukkunanni'pi, king of Hathiribi, Nahkê, king of Hininshi, Putubishti, king of Sa'nu, Unamunu, king of Nathû, Harsiaeshu, king of Sabnûti, Bûâma, king of Pintiti, Susinku, king of Pushiru, Tabnahti, king of Punubu, Bukkunanni'pi, king of Ahni, Iptihartêshu, king of Pihattihurunpiki, Nahtihuruansini, king of Pishabdi'a, Bukurninib, king of Pahnuti, Sihâ, king of Shiâutu, Lamentu, king of Himuni, Ishpimâtu, king of Taini, Manti-

meanhê, king of Ni',—these kings,[1] prefects and governors, whom my father had installed in Egypt, who had deserted their posts before the advance of Tarkû, (and) filled the plain, I reinstalled in their posts, in their (former) residences. Egypt and Ethiopia, which my father had conquered, I reorganized; the outposts I made stronger than in former days; I strengthened the organization (*lit.*, bonds). With much plunder and heavy spoil I returned in safety to Nineveh.

772. Thereupon, these kings, as many as I had (re)instated, sinned against the oath (sworn) to me, did not heed (*lit.*, guard) the curse of the great gods, forgot the good I had done them, and their hearts planned evil. They plotted insurrection, following their own counsel—a counsel not resting upon an oracle(?), saying: "They are driving Tarkû out of Egypt, how can we remain?" To Tarkû, king of Ethiopia, they sent their couriers for the purpose of swearing fealty, saying: "Let a treaty be established between us, let us be of help to one another, let us divide the land into two parts, let no other be lord among us."

773. Against the Assyrian troops, my royal host, which I had stationed (in Egypt) at their request, they planned evil. My officials heard of these matters, seized their couriers together with their messages, and saw (with their own eyes) their rebellious plot. They seized these kings and bound them hand and foot with bonds and fetters of iron. The curse of Assur, king of the gods, overtook them, because they sinned against (*i.e.*, violated) the oath (they had sworn) by the great gods. I required at their hands the good which I had done them in kindness. And the people of Sais, Pintiti, Si'nu and the rest of the cities, as many as had joined with them in plotting evil, they struck down with the sword, both great and small,—not a man among them escaped. Their

[1] For the Egyptian (and Greek) equivalents of the foregoing names, see the Index. For details, Steindorff's discussions in *BA*, I, 330–61, and II, 593–612, should be consulted.

corpses they hung on stakes, they stripped off their skins and covered the city wall(s) with them.

774. These kings, who had planned evil against the armies of Assyria, they brought before me, alive, to Nineveh. I had mercy upon Nikû, one of their number (*lit.*, from among them), spared his life and laid an oath, more drastic than the former, upon him. I clothed him in splendid (*lit.*, brightly colored) garments, laid upon his (neck) a golden chain, as the emblem of his royalty. I put rings of gold upon his fingers, gave him an iron girdle dagger, set in gold (*i.e.*, with a golden haft)—having written my name upon it. Chariots, horses and mules I presented to him for his royal riding. My officials I sent with him, at his request, (to serve as) prefects. I sent him back to his post in Sais, where my father had set him up as king, and Nabû-shezibanni, his son, I set over Hathariba. I showed him even greater favor than that of my father.

775. As for Tarkû, in the place to which he had fled, the terror of the weapon of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him and the night of death (*lit.*, the fate of his night) overtook him. Thereupon, Tandamanê, son of Shabakû, seated himself upon his royal throne. Ni' and Unu (Thebes and Heliopolis) he made his strongholds. He gathered together his forces. To battle with my troops, the Assyrians, who were (stationed) in Memphis, he mustered his battle (array). Those people he shut up (in the city), and cut off their retreat. A swift messenger came to Nineveh and told me thereof.

Second campaign. Against Egypt (Col. II, ll. 28–48)

776. In my second campaign I made straight for Egypt and Ethiopia. Tandamanê heard of the advance of my army and that I was invading the territory of Egypt. He forsook Memphis and fled to Ni', to save his life. The kings, prefects, governors, whom I had installed in Egypt, came to meet me and kissed my feet.

777. I took the road after Tandamanê, marched as far as Ni', his stronghold. He saw the approach of my terrible battle (array), forsook Ni', fled to the city of Kipkipi.

778. That city (*i.e.*, Ni') my hands captured in its entirety,—with the aid of Assur and Ishtar. Silver, gold, precious stones, the goods of his palace, all there was, brightly colored and linen garments, great horses, the people, male and female, two tall obelisks, made of shining electrum (*ahalê*), whose weight was 2,500 talents, (and) which stood by the gate of the temple, I removed from their positions and carried them off to Assyria. Heavy plunder, and countless, I carried away from Ni'. Against Egypt and Ethiopia I waged bitter warfare and established my might. With a full hand I returned in safety to Nineveh, my royal city.

Third campaign. Against the kings of Tyre and Arvad; submission of the kings of Tabal and Hilakku; the episode of Gyges of Lydia (Col. II, ll. 49–125)

779. In my third campaign I marched against Ba'li, king of Tyre, who dwells in the midst of the sea, when he did not observe my royal command and did not obey (*lit.*, listen to, hear) the word of my lips. I threw up earthworks against him, by sea and land I seized his approaches (*lit.*, ways). I pressed them (sorely and) made their lives miserable. I made them submit to my yoke. A daughter, the offspring of his loins and the daughters of his brothers he brought into my presence, to serve as my concubines. Iahi-milki, his son, who had never (before) crossed the sea, he had (them) bring (to me), for the first time, to render me service. His daughter and his brothers' daughters I received from him, with large dowries. I had mercy upon him and gave him back his son, the offspring of his loins.

780. Iakinlû, king of Arvad, who dwells in the midst of the sea, who had not submitted to the kings, my fathers, I

brought under my yoke. His daughter, with a large dot, he brought to Nineveh, to serve as my concubine, and kissed my feet.

781. Mugallu, king of Tabal, who had addressed words of enmity to the kings, my fathers, brought a daughter, the offspring of his loins, with a large dowry, to Nineveh, to serve as my concubine, and he kissed my feet. On Mugallu I laid a yearly tribute of large horses.

782. Sandasharme, of Hilakku, who had not submitted to the kings, my fathers, who did not bear (*lit.*, draw) their yoke, brought a daughter, the offspring of his loins, with a large dot, to Nineveh, to serve as my concubine, and he kissed my feet.

783. After Iakinlû, king of Arvad, died (*lit.*, stood on his mountain), Azi-ba'al, Abi-ba'al, Adûni-ba'al, Sapati-ba'al, Budi-ba'al, Ba'al-iashupu, Ba'al-hanûnu, Ba'al-maluku, Abi-milki, Ahi-milki, the sons of Iakinlû, who dwelt in the midst of the sea, came up out of the sea, and with their rich (*lit.*, heavy) gifts came and kissed my feet. I showed favor to (*lit.*, looked pleasantly upon) Azi-ba'al and installed him as king of Arvad. Abi-ba'al, Adûni-ba'al, Sapati-ba'al, Budi-ba'al, Ba'al-iashupu, Ba'al-hanûnu, Ba'al-maluku, Abi-milki, (and) Ahi-milki, (—these) I clothed in splendid garments, put rings of gold upon their fingers, and caused them to stand before me.

784. Guggu (Gyges), king of Lydia, a district of the other side of the sea, a distant place, whose name, the kings, my fathers, had not heard, Assur, the god, my creator, caused to see my name in a dream. "Lay hold of the feet of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria and conquer thy foes by calling upon his name." On the day that he beheld this vision, he dispatched his messenger to bring greetings to me. (An account of) this vision, which he beheld, he sent to me by the hand of his messenger, and made it known to me. From the day that he

laid hold of my royal feet, he overcame, by the help of Assur and Ishtar, the gods, my lords, the Cimmerians, who had been harassing the people of his land, who had not feared my fathers, nor had laid hold even of my royal feet. From among the chieftains of the Cimmerians, whom he had conquered, he shackled two chieftains with shackles, fetters of iron, manacles of iron, and sent them to me, together with his rich gifts.

785. His messenger, whom he kept sending to me to bring me greetings, he (suddenly) discontinued,—because he did not heed the word of Assur, the god who created me, but trusted in his own strength, and hardened his heart. He sent his forces to the aid of Tushamilki, king of Egypt, who had thrown off the yoke of my sovereignty. I heard of it and prayed to Assur and Ishtar, saying: "May his body be cast before his enemy, may (his foes) carry off his limbs." The Cimmerians, whom he had trodden underfoot, by calling upon my name, invaded and overpowered the whole of his land. His son seated himself upon his throne, after him (*i.e.*, his death). He sent me, by the hand of his messenger, (an account) of the evil which the gods, my helpers, visited upon him (in answer) to my prayers, and he laid hold of my royal feet, saying: "Thou art the king whom the god has favored (*lit.*, looked upon). Thou didst curse my father and evil was visited upon him. I am (thy) slave, who fears thee, be gracious unto me and I will bear (*lit.*, draw) thy yoke."

Fourth campaign. Against Ahshêri of the Manneans (*Col. II, l. 126–Col. III, l. 26*)

786. In my fourth campaign I made straight for Ahshêri, king of the Manneans. At the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, I invaded (*lit.*, entered) the Mannean country and advanced victoriously. His strong cities, together with the small ones,

whose number was countless, right up to the city of Izirtu, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. People, horses, asses, cattle and sheep, I brought out of those cities and accounted as booty. Ahshêri heard of the advance of my army, forsook Izirtu, his royal city and fled to Ishtatti, a fortress of his and (there) sought refuge. That district I conquered, devastating (it) for a stretch of fifteen days' (journey), and pouring out misery. Ahshêri, who did not fear my sovereignty, at the command of Ishtar, dwelling in Arbela, which she had spoken from the beginning, saying: "I will bring about the death of Ahshêri, king of the Manneans, according as I have spoken,"—she delivered (*lit.*, counted) him into the hands of his servants, and the people of his land started a rebellion against him. Into the street of his city they cast his body, leaving his corpse (there). His brothers, his family, the seed of his father's house, they cut down with the sword. Thereafter, Uallî, his son, seated himself upon his throne. The might of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal, Nusku, the great gods, my lords, he saw and submitted to my yoke. To save his life he spread forth his hands, beseeching my majesty. Erisinni, a son of his begetting, he dispatched to Nineveh, and he kissed my feet. I had mercy upon him and sent my messengers of peace to him. A daughter, the offspring of his loins, he sent to be my concubine. The former tribute, which in the reigns of the kings, my fathers, they had allowed to lapse, they brought before me (once more). Thirty horses I added to the former tribute and imposed (it) upon him.

Fifth campaign. Against Elam and Gambulu; the revolt of Babylonia under Shamash-shum-ukîn (*Col. III, ll. 27–127*)

787. In my fifth campaign I marched straight against Elam. At the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of

Arbela, Urta, Nergal, Nusku, in the month of *Ululu*, (the month of) the work of the goddesses, the month of the king of the gods, Assur, and the father of the gods, Nunnamnir (Enlil), like the onset of a terrible hurricane I overwhelmed (*lit.*, covered) Elam in its entirety. I cut off the head of Teumman, their king,—the haughty one, who plotted evil. Countless of his warriors I slew. Alive, with (my) hands, I seized his fighters. With their corpses I filled the plain about Susa as with *baltu* and *ashagu*.[1] Their blood I let run down the Ulai; its water I dyed (red) like wool. Ummanigash, son of Urtaku, the king of Elam, who had fled from (*lit.*, before) Teumman to Assyria and had laid hold of my feet, I took with me to Elam. I placed him upon the throne of Teumman. Tammaritu, his third brother, who had fled with him, I set up as a king in the city of Hidalu.

788. After I had waged bitter warfare against Elam with the weapons of Assur and Ishtar and had established power and might, on my return march I set my face against Dunanu, (king) of Gambulu, who had put his trust in Elam. Sha-pî-bêl, the stronghold of Gambulu, I captured. I entered that city; its inhabitants I slaughtered like lambs. Dunanu (and) Sam'gunu, who had made difficult (*lit.*, lamed) for me the exercising of sovereignty,—in shackles, fetters of iron, bonds of iron, I bound them hand and foot. The rest of the sons of Bêl-ikîsha, his family, the seed of his father's house, all there were, Nabû-nâ'id, Bêl-êtir, sons of Nabû-shum-êresh, the proconsul (GU-EN-NA), and the bones of the father who begot them, together with the Urbi and Tebê, peoples of Gambulu, cattle, sheep, asses, horses, mules, I carried off from Gambulu to Assyria. Sha-pî-bêl, his stronghold, I devastated, I destroyed, I laid waste by flooding it (*lit.*, with water).

789. In these days Shamash-shum-ukîn, the faithless

[1] Probably two varieties of thorny shrub.

brother (of mine), whom I had treated well (and) had set up as king of Babylon,—every imaginable thing that kingship calls for, I made and gave him; soldiers, horses, chariots, I equipped and put into his hands; cities, fields, plantations (together with) the people who live therein, I gave him in larger numbers than my father had ordered. But he forgot this kindness I had shown him (and) planned evil. Outwardly, with his lips, he was speaking fair (*lit.*, good) (words) while inwardly his heart was designing murder. The Babylonians, who had been loyal to Assyria, and (faithful) vassals of mine, he deceived, speaking lies to them. He sent them to me, to Nineveh, according to (his) deceitful plan, to pay me their respects (*lit.*, ask my peace, to greet me) (and) I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, for whom the great gods decreed a favorable destiny, whom they fashioned (created) in truth and uprightness, invited (*lit.*, caused to stand) those Babylonians to a sumptuous banquet, clothed them in linen (and) brightly colored garments, put rings of gold upon their fingers,—as long as those Babylonians were staying in Assyria, they were mindful of my command. But that Shamash-shum-ukîn, the faithless brother, who had not kept the oath sworn to me, and who had stirred to revolt against me the people of Akkad, Chaldea, the Arameans, the Sea-land, from Akaba to Bâb-Salimeti, vassals, subject to me, also Ummanigash, the fugitive, who had laid hold of my royal feet, whom I had set up as king in Elam, along with the kings of Gutê (Gutium), Amurru and Meluhha, whom my hands had installed at the command of Assur and Bêlit,—all these he set at enmity with me and they joined forces with him (*lit.*, "put in their word with him"). The gates of Sippar, Babylon and Borsippa he barred and (thus) broke the (bond) of brotherhood. He mounted his fighters upon the walls of those cities and they undertook to make war against me. He prevented my sacrifices being offered before Bêl, son of Bêl, the

light of the gods, Shamash, and the warrior Ira (Girra) and brought to an end my oblations. To take (from me) the city, the seat of the great gods, whose sanctuaries I had restored and adorned with gold and silver, in which I had instituted the appropriate (cults), was his evil plan.

790. At that time one (of my) seers lay down at night and saw a vision (dream). Upon the surface of the moon was written: "To those who plot evil against Assurbanipal, and instigate hostility, I will apportion (*lit.*, give as gift) an evil death. Through the swift (thrust) of the iron dagger, (through) conflagration of fire, (through) famine (and) the outbreak of the plague, I will bring their lives to an end." These things were reported to me (*lit.*, I heard) and I hearkened (attended on) to the word of Sin, my lord.

Sixth campaign. Overthrow of the rebels in Babylonia (Col. III, l. 128—Col. IV, 109)

791. In my sixth campaign I mustered my armies, straight against Shamash-shum-ukîn I marched. In Sippar, Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha, I shut up him and his warriors and prevented their escape. In the city and on the open plain I inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. Those who escaped (*lit.*, the rest) perished from the outbreak of the plague, from hunger and want.

792. Ummanigash, king of Elam, a creature of my hands, who had received his bribes, and had set out at his request (*or*, to his aid),—Tammaritu revolted against him and cut down him and his family with the sword. Thereupon Tammaritu, who had seated himself upon the throne of Elam after (the death of) Ummanigash, who had not sent words of greeting to my majesty, came to the aid of Shamash-shum-ukîn, the hostile brother of mine, and rushed his arms into battle with my troops.

793. In (answer to) the prayers I addressed to Assur and

Ishtar, these received my supplications and gave ear to the words of my lips. Indabigash, his slave, revolted against him and in an open battle defeated him. Tammaritu, king of Elam, who, at the beheading of Teumman, had spoken insolently when a camp-follower(?) of my army beheaded him, saying: "Will they cut off the head of the king of Elam in his (own) land and in the presence of his troops?" And a second time he spoke: "And Ummanigash,—(how is it) that he kisses the ground in front of the messengers of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria?" For these words, with which he insulted (abused) Assur and Ishtar, they (these gods) took swift vengeance upon him. Tammaritu, his brothers, his family, the seed of his father's house, together with 85 nobles, who go at his side, took to flight before Indabigash. In their nakedness they crawled upon their bellies and came to Nineveh. Tammaritu kissed my royal feet and smoothed (brushed) the ground (before me) with his beard. He took (his) place at my (chariot)-wheel and counted himself among those serving as my vassals (slaves). That I should espouse his cause and come to his aid, he implored my majesty, in the name of Assur and Ishtar. He took his stand before me, making complete submission to the power of my great gods, who had come to my aid. I, Assurbanipal, the kind (*lit.*, wide) hearted, who does not keep a grudge, who forgives transgressions, took pity upon Tammaritu and allowed him and the seed of his father's house to stay in my palace.

794. At this time, the people of Akkad, who had cast in their lot with Shamash-shum-ukîn, and plotted evil,—famine laid hold upon them. They ate the flesh of their sons and daughters to (stay) their hunger, they gnawed leather thongs(?). Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, who march before me, slaying my foes, cast Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother, who became

my enemy, into the burning flames of a conflagration and destroyed him (*lit.*, his life). As for the people who hatched these plans for Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother, (and) did the evil, (but) who were afraid of death and valued their lives highly, they did not cast themselves into the fire with Shamash-shum-ukîn, their lord. Those of them who fled before the murderous iron dagger, famine, want (and) flaming fire, and found a refuge,—the net of the great gods, my lords, which cannot be eluded, brought them low. Not one escaped; not a sinner slipped through my hands, (of those) whom they (the gods) had counted for my hands.

795. The chariots, coaches, palanquins, his concubines, the goods of his palace, they brought before me. As for those men (and) their vulgar mouths, who uttered vulgarity against Assur, my god, and plotted evil against me, the prince who fears him,—I slit their mouths (*v.*, tongues) and brought them low. The rest of the people, alive, by the colossi, between which they had cut down Sennacherib, the father of the father who begot me,—at that time, I cut down those people there, as an offering to his shade. Their dismembered bodies (*lit.*, flesh) I fed to the dogs, swine, wolves, and eagles, to the birds of heaven and the fish of the deep.

796. After I had accomplished this work (*lit.*, these deeds), had quieted the hearts of the great gods, my lords, the corpses of the people whom the plague (-god) had brought low, and of those who had lost (*lit.*, laid down) their lives through hunger and want,—what was left of the feast of the dogs and swine, of their members which blocked the streets and filled the squares, I ordered them to remove from Babylon, Kutha and Sippar, and to cast them upon heaps.

797. Through priestly rite(s) I purified their shrines and cleansed their filthy (*v.*, unhealthy) streets. Their angry gods and wrathful goddesses I appeased with penitential prayer and psalm. Their temple revenues, which had fallen

off, I re-established in full, as in the days of old. On the rest of the inhabitants (*lit.*, sons) of Babylon, Kutha and Sippar, who had escaped the slaughter, carnage and famine, I took pity and ordered their lives to be spared. I settled them in Babylon.

798. The people of Akkad, as well as (those of) Chaldea, Aramu, and the Sea-land, whom Shamash-shum-ukîn had invited (to his standard) and had unified (*lit.*, turned to one mouth), began hostilities against me on their own initiative. At the command of Assur and Bêlit, and the great gods, my helpers, I trod them under foot, to their farthest border. The yoke of Assur, which they had cast off, I placed upon them. Governors and prefects, creatures of my hand, I set over them. Revenues, dues and first-fruits(?) for Assur and Bêlit, and the gods of Assyria, I imposed upon them. My royal tribute and tax, (to be paid) yearly without ceasing, I laid upon them.

Seventh campaign. Against Elam (Col. IV, l. 110—Col. V, l. 62)

799. In my seventh campaign, in the month of *Simânu*, the month of Sin, lord of the oracle, first-(born) and foremost son of Bêl, I mustered my armies and marched straight against Ummanaldasi, king of Elam. I took with me Tammaritu, king of Elam, who had fled before Indabigash, his servant, and had laid hold of my feet.

800. The people of the cities of Hilmu, Pillatu, Dummuku, Sulai, Lahiru and Dibirîna, heard of the approach of my mighty battle (array), as I marched upon Elam. The terrible brilliance of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, (and) the fear of my majesty, overwhelmed them. They, their people, their cattle, their sheep, rushed headlong to Assyria, to become my servants, and they laid hold of my royal feet. Bît-Imbî, an earlier royal city and stronghold of Elam, which,

like a great wall, bars the Elamite frontier, and which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, my father's father, had captured before my time, where that Elamite had built a second city in place of the earlier Bît-Imbî, strengthening its wall, raising on high its outer wall, and calling its name Bît-Imbî,—in the course of my campaign I captured (it). The people dwelling therein, who had not come forth and had not greeted my majesty, I slew. Their heads I cut off. (Of others) I pierced the lips (and) took them to Assyria as a spectacle for the people of my land.

801. Imbappi, the commandant of Bît-Imbî, the son-in-law of Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, I took alive, out of that city, bound him hand and foot with fetters of iron and brought him to Assyria. The concubine(?) and sons of Teumman, king of Elam, whose head I had cut off at Assur's order on my first campaign, together with the rest of the inhabitants of Bît-Imbî, I brought out and counted as spoil.

802. Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, heard of the entrance of my armies into the midst of Elam, forsook Madaktu, his royal city, fled and went up into the (*lit.*, his) mountain(s). Umbahabua, who, after Elam had risen in revolt, had fled to the city of Bubilu, and had seated himself on the throne of Elam in place of Ummanaldasi, heard, like that one, (of my invasion), forsook Bubilu, the city that was his royal seat, and like a fish betook (himself) to the depth of the distant waters. Tammaritu, who had fled and laid hold of my royal feet, I brought into Susa and established him as king. But he forgot the favors I did him, how I had sent him aid, and planned evil. To overcome my armies, he spoke thus in his heart, saying: "The people of Elam, to whatever they have turned, have come face to face with Assyria. And they (the Assyrians) are now invading and plundering Elam."

803. Assur and Ishtar, who go at my side and cause me to stand upon (the neck) of my foes, looked into the heart of

Tammaritu, the wicked rebel, and required it at his hand. From his royal throne they cast him and they brought him again, a second time, into submission at my feet. With my heart enraged (burning) at these crimes which Tammaritu, the faithless, had committed (*lit.*, sinned), in the power and might of the great gods, my lords, I advanced victoriously into the midst of Elam, and all over it.

804. On my return (march), unharmed (*lit.*, in safety) and with full hands, I turned the front of my yoke toward Assyria. Gatudu, Gatuduma, Daeba, Nadi', Dûr-Amnani, Dûr-Amnanima, Hamanu, Taraku, Haialilsi, Bît-kunukku-bît-su, Bît-Arrabi, Imbî, Madaktu, Shushan (Susa), Bubê, Temen-Marduk-sharrâni, Urdalika, Algariga, Tûbu, Til-Tûbu, Dun-sharri, Dûr-Undasi, Dûr-Undasima, Bubilu, Samuna, Bunaku, Kabrina, Kabrinama, Hara',—these cities I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Their gods, their people, their cattle, their sheep, their property, their goods, wagons, horses, mules, weapons and implements of warfare, I carried off to Assyria.

Eighth campaign. Against Elam (Col. V, l. 63—Col. VII, l. 81)

805. In my eighth campaign, at the command of Assur and Ishtar, I mustered my troops, (and) made straight for Ummanaldasi, king of Elam. Bît-Imbî, which I had captured in my former campaign,—this time I captured (together with) the land of Râshi, (and) the city of Hamanu with its (surrounding) district. And that Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, heard of the capture of Râshi (and) Hamanu, and the fear of Assur and Ishtar, who go at my side, overpowered him. He forsook Madaktu, his royal city, and fled to Dûr-Undasi. He crossed the Idide, making that river his stronghold, and prepared himself for battle with me.

806. Naditu, the royal city, together with its district, I

captured. Bît-Bunaku, the royal city, together with its district, I captured. Hartabanu, the royal city, together with its district, I captured. Tûbu, the royal city, together with its district, I captured. The whole peninsula (*lit.*, stream-midst), Madaktu, the royal city, with its district, I captured. Haltemash, his royal city, I captured. Susa, the royal city, I captured. Din-Sharri, Sumuntunash, his royal cities, I captured. Pidilma, his royal city, I captured. Bubilu, his royal city, I captured. Albinak (*v.*, Kabinak), his royal city, together with its district, I captured. Trusting in Assur and Ishtar, I marched and advanced against Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, who had not submitted to my yoke.

807. In the course of my campaign I captured Dûr-Undâsi, his royal city. The troops saw the Idide, a raging torrent, and were afraid to cross. Ishtar, who dwells in Arbela, in the night time revealed a dream to my armies, thus she addressed them: "I will go before Assurbanipal, the king whom my hands have formed." My armies put their trust in that dream, crossed the Idide in safety.

808. Fourteen of his royal residence cities, together with countless small cities, and twelve districts of Elam,—the whole of it, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. To mounds and ruin heaps I turned (them). Countless warriors of his I slew, with the sword I cut down his mighty fighters. Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, fled in his nakedness and took to the mountain. The city of Banunu, together with the district of the city of Tasarra, all of it, I captured. Twenty cities in the district of the city of Hunnir, on the border of Hidalu, I captured. Bashimu and the cities of its environs I destroyed, I devastated. I struck down the people living therein. I smashed their gods, and pacified the divine heart of the lord of lords. His gods, his goddesses, his property, his goods, his people, great and small, I carried off to Assyria. (To a distance of) sixty

double-hours I invaded the territory of Elam, at the command of Assur and Ishtar, who had sent me, and I advanced victoriously.

809. On my return march, during which Assur and Ishtar caused me to stand on (the neck) of my foes, I captured Susa, the great metropolis, the abode of their gods, the place of their (the gods') revelation. At the command of Assur and Ishtar, I entered into its palaces and dwelt there amidst rejoicing. I opened his treasure-houses, wherein were heaped up the silver, gold, property and goods, which the former kings of Elam, down to (and including) the kings of these (present) days, had gathered and laid up, and into which no foe other than myself had ever brought his hand,—(these treasures) I carried out and counted as spoil. The silver, gold, property and goods of Sumer and Akkad and the whole of Babylonia (Karduniash), which the former kings of Elam had carried off, in (some) seven (raids), and had brought to Elam,—ruddy *sariru*, brilliant *eshmarû*, precious stones, costly equipment, the royal paraphernalia which the former kings of Akkad and Shamash-shum-ukîn had squandered in Elam to (secure) their assistance; garments, equipment, royal paraphernalia, weapons suitable for warfare, everything for making war, which graced his hand; all movable furniture of his palaces, on which he sat and lay down, from which he ate and drank, (in which) he bathed and was anointed; chariots, coaches, wagons, whose ornaments were of *sariru* and *zahalû;* great horses (and) mules, whose trappings were of gold and silver, I carried off to Assyria.

810. The *zikkurat* (temple tower) of Susa, which was built of enameled bricks, I destroyed. (Its) pinnacles (*lit.*, horns), which were of shining bronze, I broke down. Shushinak, their god of revelation (oracle-god), who dwells in seclusion, the work (or workmanship) of whose divinity no

one has (ever) seen, the gods Shumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira, Ammankasibar, Uduran, Sapak, whose divinity the kings of Elam worshiped; Ragiba, Sungursarâ, Karsa, Kirsamas, Shudânu, Aipaksina, Bilala, Panintimri, Nabirtu, Kindakarbu, Silagarâ, Nabsâ,—these gods and goddesses, together with their paraphernalia, their property, their vessels, as well as their priests and attendants(?), I carried off to Assyria. Thirty-two statues of kings, made of gold, silver, bronze and marble, out of the cities of Susa, Madaktu (and) Huradi, together with the statue of Ummanigash, son of Umbadarâ, the statue of Ishtarnanhundi, the statue of Hallusi, the statue of Tammaritu, the latter (second), who became my servant at the command of Assur and Ishtar,—(these) I carried off to Assyria. I gathered together the colossi, the guardians of the temple, all that there were, I removed the fierce wild-oxen which adorned their gates. The sanctuaries of Elam I destroyed totally (*lit.*, to non-existence). Its gods (and) goddesses I scattered (*lit.*, counted) to the wind(s). Their secret groves, into which no stranger (ever) penetrates, whose borders he never (over)steps,—into these my soldiers entered, saw their mysteries, and set them on fire. The sepulchers of their earlier and later kings, who did not fear Assur and Ishtar, my lords, (and who) had plagued the kings, my fathers, I destroyed, I devastated, I exposed to the sun. Their bones (members) I carried off to Assyria. I laid restlessness upon their shades. I deprived them of food-offerings and libations of water.

811. For a (distance) of a month of twenty-five days' journey I devastated the provinces of Elam. Salt and *sihlu* (some prickly plant) I scattered over them. The daughters of the kings, the sisters of the kings, together with the older and younger (*lit.*, earlier and later) (members) of the families of the Elamite kings, the prefects and mayors of all of those cities which I had conquered, the chiefs of the bowmen (arch-

ers), the "second" (-men of the chariots), the drivers (*lit.*, holders of the reins), the "third"-riders(?) (of the chariots), the horsemen, the (light-armed?) bowmen, the captains and (heavy-armed?) bowmen of the whole army, all there were; the people, male and female, great and small; horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, which were more numerous than grasshoppers, I carried off to Assyria. The dust of Susa, Madaktu, Haltemash and the rest of their cities, I gathered together and took to Assyria. In a month of days I ravaged Elam to its farthest border. The noise of people, the tread of cattle and sheep, the glad shouts of rejoicing, I banished from its fields. Wild asses, gazelles and all kinds of beasts of the plain, I caused to lie down among them, as if at home.

812. The goddess Nanâ, who had been angry for 1,635 years, and who had gone and dwelt in Elam, a place not suitable for her, now, in these days, when she and the gods, her fathers, had named me for the rulership of the lands, she intrusted to me the return of her divinity, with the words: "Assurbanipal shall bring me out of wicked Elam, shall bring me into Eanna."

813. The spoken word of their divinities, which they had uttered in days of the remote (past), they now revealed unto the people of the latter days. The hand of her high divinity I grasped and she took the straight road to Eanna, in joy of heart. In the month of *Kislimu*, the first day, I brought her into Erech and caused her to take up her eternal abode in (the temple) Ehilianna, which she loves.

814. The people and spoil of Elam, which at the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal and Nusku, I had carried off, the choicest I presented unto my gods. The men of the bow and the shield, the captains(?) and (heavy-armed?) bowmen, whom I had carried off from Elam, I added to my royal military establishment. The rest

I divided like sheep among the metropolises, the abodes of the great gods, (among) my officials, my nobles,—the whole of my camp.

815. Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, who had seen the fury of the mighty weapons of Assur and Ishtar, returned from the mountains, the place of his refuge, and into Madaktu, the city which I had destroyed, devastated and plundered at the command of Assur and Ishtar, he entered and took up his mournful abode (in that) place of desolation. As for Nabû-bêl-shumâte, grandson of Merodach-baladan, who had violated (*lit.*, turned against) the oath (given) me, who had thrown off the yoke of my rule, who had made the kings of Elam his mainstay, and had put his trust in Ummanigash, Tammaritu, Indabigash (and) Ummanaldash, the kings who exercised sovereignty over Elam,—filled with anger, I sent my messengers to Ummanaldash, for the surrender of Nabû-bêl-shumâte. Nabû-bêl-shumâte, grandson of Merodach-baladan, heard of the coming of my messenger as he entered Elam, and his heart became anxious, he took fright, his life seemed of no worth in his eyes, and he longed for death. He commanded his own shield-bearer, saying: "Cut me down with the sword." He and his shield-bearer ran each other through with their iron girdle daggers. Ummanaldash was alarmed and laid the corpse of that Nabû-bêl-shumâte in salt and gave it, together with the head of his shield-bearer, who had cut him down with the sword, to my messenger, and he had him brought before me. I did not give his body to be buried. I made him more dead than he was before. I cut off his head and hung it on the back of Nabû-kâtâ-sabat, (his) twin brother(?) (and) a faithful (subject) of Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother, who had gone with him to rouse Elam to hostility.

816. Pa'e, who exercised the rulership over Elam in place of Ummanaldash, reflected upon the fury of the terrible

weapons of Assur and Ishtar, which had been poured out over Elam, one, two and three times, and his courage forsook him (*lit.*, had heart-break). Fleeing from Elam, he laid hold of my royal feet. The rebellious people of Bît-Imbî, Kusurtêin, Dûr-sharri, Masutu, Bubê, Bît-Unzaia, Bît-Arrabi, Ibrat, Dimtu-sha-Tapapa, Akbarina, Gurukirra, Dunnu-Shamash, Hamanu, Kanisu, Aranziashe, Nakidâte, Dimtu-sha-Simame, Bît-Katatti, Sha-Kisaia, Subahê (and) Til-Humba, who during my first campaign, when they fled before the powerful weapons of Assur and Ishtar, had betaken themselves to Mount Salatri, an inaccessible mountain,—these people, who had made Mount Salatri their stronghold, the splendor of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, overwhelmed them; from the mountain, (which had been) the place of their refuge, they fled and laid hold of my feet. I assigned them to (*or*, selected them for) the bow (*i.e.*, to be archers), and added (them) to the (*lit.*, my) royal military establishment, which (the gods) had intrusted to my hands.

Ninth campaign. Against the Arabian tribes (*Col. VII, l. 82—Col. X, l. 50*)

817. In my ninth campaign I mustered my armies; against Uaite', king of Arabia, I took the straight road. Violating (*lit.*, sinning against) the oath (sworn) to me and not remembering (*lit.*, guarding) the good I had done him, he cast off the yoke of my sovereignty, which Assur had laid upon him, (commanding) that he should bear my yoke. He kept his feet (from coming) to greet me and held up the payment of his heavy tribute. Like Elam, he listened to the rebellious word(s) of Akkad and did not keep (*lit.*, guard) the oath (sworn) to me. Me, Assurbanipal, the king, the holy priest, the prayerful servant (of god), the creature (creation) of Assur's hand, he forsook and to Abiate' (and) Aimu, son(s) of Têri (*v.*, Te'ri), he gave troops and sent (them) to the aid

of Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother. He came to an agreement with him, roused the people of Arabia to revolt with him (*i.e.*, Shamash-shum-ukîn) and plundered the peoples whom Assur, Ishtar and the great gods had given me to rule over, and had intrusted to my hand.

818. At the command of Assur and Ishtar, my armies ⟨I mustered⟩. In the *girâ* of the cities of Arzailu (and) Hiratâ-kasai, in Udume[1] (Edom), in the pass of Iabrud,[1] in Bît-Ammani,[1] in the district of Haurîna,[1] in Moab,[1] in Sa'arri,[1] in Hargê,[1] in the district of Subiti,[1] I slew many of his warriors, a decisive (*lit.*, not measurable) defeat I inflicted upon him. All the people of Arabia who had gone forth with him I cut down with the sword. But he made his escape before the mighty weapons of Assur and fled to distant (parts). The houses of the plain, the tents, their dwellings, I set on fire and burned them. Uaite',—evil befell him and he fled alone to the land of Nabaite.

819. Uaite, son of Hazael, son of the brother of the father (*i.e.*, the nephew) of Uaite', son of Bir-Dadda, who set himself up as king of Arabia,—Assur, king of the gods, the great mountain, changed his (Uaite's) mind, and he came into my presence.[2] To make known (*lit.*, reveal) the majesty (grandeur) of Assur and the great gods, my lords, I laid on him a heavy penalty. I put him into a kennel. With jackals(?) and dogs I tied him up and made him guard the gate, in Nineveh, called *Nîrib masnakti adnâti* ("Entrance of the Thronging Nations").

820. Then that Ammu-ladi, king of Kidri (Kedar), marched forth to attack the kings of Amurru whom Assur, Ishtar and the great gods had made subject to me. (Trusting) in the help of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû,

[1] All written with the city-determinative.

[2] The sentence is obscure. It may mean, "made him mad, and he advanced against me."

Ishtar of Nineveh, queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, I defeated him. Himself, together with Adiâ, wife of Uaite', king of Arabia, they captured alive and brought them into my presence. At the command of the great gods, my lords, I put a dog chain upon him and made him guard a kennel.

821. At the command of Assur, Ishtar and the great gods, my lords, I overcame and defeated Abiate' (and) Aimu, son(s) of Te'ri, who had come to the aid of Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother, (and had attempted) to enter Babylon. The others who had got into Babylon, (driven) by distress and hunger, ate each other's flesh. To save their lives they came forth from Babylon, and my forces, who had been stationed (there) against Shamash-shum-ukîn, defeated them a second time. That one fled alone, and, in order to save his life, laid hold of my feet. I took pity upon him, made him swear an oath by the great gods, and in place of Uaite', son of Hazael, set him up as king over Arabia. But he made common cause with the Nabaitai (Nabateans), did not respect (*lit.*, fear) the oath by the great gods and plundered the border of my land.

822. Trusting in Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku:[1] Natnu, king of the land of Nabaitu, whose place is afar off, into whose presence Uaite' had fled, heard of the power of Assur, who supported me, (and) although he never had sent his messenger to the kings, my fathers, and had not greeted their majesties, impelled by fear of the conquering arms of Assur, he greeted my majesty. As for Abiate', son of Te'ri, whose thoughts were not good, who did not keep the oath of the great gods,—he plotted re-

[1] The scribes of Assurbanipal were wont, as the reader has long since noted, to scatter pious phrases about their narratives with a lavish hand. Occasionally, as here, they failed to articulate them logically and grammatically with the other phrases among which they happened to fall.

bellion against me and made common cause with Natnu, king of Nabaitu. They mustered their armies for a hostile (*lit.*, evil) attack against my border.

823. At the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, I mustered my forces. Against Abiate' I took the straight road. The Tigris and Euphrates they (the armies) crossed in safety at the height of their flood, they marched over distant trails, climbed high mountains, plunged through stretches of dense forests, between mighty *gissu*-trees and *amurtinnu*,[1] over roads covered with thorn-brush they marched in safety. Across the parched and thirsty desert, wherein no bird of heaven is seen, in which no wild asses or gazelles (are found) grazing, for a stretch of a hundred *bêru* ("double-hours") from Nineveh, the beloved city of Ishtar, spouse of Enlil, they continued their pursuit of Uaite', king of Arabia, and Abiate' who had come on with the forces of Nabaitu. In *Simânu*, the month of Sin, the first and foremost son of Enlil, the twenth-fifth day, (the day of) the procession of Bêlit of Babylon, the honored among the great gods, I departed from the city of Hadattâ. In Laribda, a station (surrounded) with a wall of *kunukku*-stones, I pitched my camp, beside the cisterns of water. My soldiers dug for water[2] (to quench) their thirst, then marched on, going over a parched and thirsty stretch, to Hurarina. Between the cities of Iarki and Asalla, in the desert, a far-off place, where there are no wild beasts (*lit.*, beasts of the plain) and (where) birds of heaven build no nests, I defeated the Isamme', the tribe of the god Atarsamain, and the Nabaitai (Nabateans). People, asses, camels and sheep in countless numbers, I took from them as booty. For a stretch of 8 *berê* ("double-hours") my armies marched victoriously.

[1] This has been identified with the rose; see Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, p. 86.

[2] Cf. Vol. I, § 407.

They returned in safety, and in Asalla they drank their fill of water (*lit.*, to satiety).

824. From Asalla to the city of Kurasiti, a 6 *bêru* (double-hours) stretch of parched and thirsty (desert), they continued their march. The tribe of Atarsamain, and the Kidrai (Kedarites) of Uaite', son of Bir-Dadda, king of Arabia, I surrounded. His gods, his mother, his sister, his wife, his family, all the people of Kidri, asses, camels, and flocks, the feet of all that my hands captured with the aid of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, I turned into the Damascus road.

825. In *Abu*, the month of the bow-star, of the valiant daughter of Sin, the third day, the rest day of the king of the gods, Marduk, I departed from Damascus. A stretch of 6 *bêru* (double-hours) I advanced, (marching) all night long, and came to Hulhuliti. On Mount Hukkurina, a steep mountain, I came up with the tribe of Abiate', son of Te'ri of Kidri, and defeated and despoiled him.

826. Abiate' (and) Aimu, sons of Te'ri, my hands captured alive. At the command of Assur and Ishtar, in the midst of (the) battle, I bound them hand and foot with iron fetters, and, with the plunder of their land, carried them off to Assyria.

827. The fugitives, who took flight before my arms, betook themselves to Mount Hukkuruna, a steep mountain, in their fright. At the towns of Manhabbi, Apparu, Tenukuri, Zaiuran, Markanâ, Sadaten, Enzikarme, Ta'nâ, Irrâna,—in every place where there were springs or wells of water, I set guards over them and deprived them (the inhabitants) of the water (which would) keep them alive. I made drink costly (scarce) for their mouths. Through thirst and deprivation they perished. Those who were left ripped open their riding-camels, and, (to quench) their thirst, drank the blood and water of the *excreta*. Of those who had gone up and entered into the mountains, to find a refuge (there), not one escaped, not a

sinner slipped through my hands. In their place of refuge my hands captured them. The people, male and female, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, without number, I carried away to Assyria. The whole of my land, which Assur gave me, they filled totally. Camels I apportioned like sheep, dividing them up among the people of Assyria. Throughout my land camels were sold for $1\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver (each) in the markets (*lit.*, gate of sale). The *sutammu* received camels and slaves (*lit.*, people) for his gift, the sherbet-vendor(?) (the same) for a cup (of his drink), the gardener (the same) for plants (shoots?) which he had selected(?).

828. Uaite', together with his armies, who had not kept the oath (sworn) to me, who had fled before the weapons of Assur, my lord, and had escaped before them,—the warrior Irra (the pest god) brought them low. Famine broke out among them. To (satisfy) their hunger they ate the flesh of their children. Every curse, written down in the oath which they took, was instantly visited (*lit.*, fated) upon them by Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku. The young of camels, asses, cattle and sheep, sucked at seven udders (*lit.*, suckling mothers) and could not satisfy their bellies with the milk. The people of Arabia asked questions, the one of the other, saying: "Why is it that such evil has befallen Arabia?" (And answered), saying: "Because we did not keep the solemn (*lit.*, great) oaths sworn to Assur; (because) we have sinned against the kindness (shown us by) Assurbanipal, the king beloved of Enlil's heart."

829. Ninlil, beloved of Enlil, the mighty, the proud one among the goddesses, who occupies a station of power along with Anu and Enlil, gored my enemies with her great horns. Ishtar, who dwells in Arbela, who is clothed with fire (and) bears aloft (a crown) of awful splendor, spread a conflagration (*lit.*, rained fire) over Arabia. The warrior Irra (the

pest-god), engaging (them) in battle, struck down my foes. Urta, the lance, the great warrior, son of Enlil, pierced my enemies to the life with his sharp arrow. Nusku, the exalted messenger (of the gods), who makes my rule glorious, and who, at the command of Assur (and) Ninlil, the valorous lady, goes at my side, guarding my kingship, took (his place) before my armies and brought low my foes. The armies of Uaite' heard of the onslaught of the weapons of Assur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, how they were coming to my aid in battle, and they revolted against him. That one became frightened and left the house into which he had fled. With the aid of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, my hands took him and I brought him to Assyria. Raising my hands, which I had received for the conquest of my foes, at the command of Assur and Ninlil, I pierced his chin with my keen hand dagger. Through his jaw (*lit.*, jaw of his face) I passed a rope, put a dog chain upon him and made him occupy (*lit.*, guard) a kennel of the east gate of the inner (wall) of Nineveh, which is named *Nîrib masnakti adnâte.*[1] To extol the glory of Assur, Ishtar and the great gods, my lords, I took pity upon him, and spared his life.

830. On my return march I captured the city of Ushu, which is located on the shore of the sea. The people of Ushu, who had not cowered before their governor(s), and had not paid their tribute, their yearly gifts, I slew. Among (those) insubmissive people I applied the rod(?). Their gods, their people, I carried off to Assyria. The insubmissive people of Akkû (Acre) I slaughtered. Their corpses I hung on stakes, surrounding the city (with them). Those who were left I carried away to Assyria, joined them to (my) military organization, adding them to the many troops which Assur had given me.

[1] Cf. § 819.

831. Aimu, son of Têri, who had taken his stand with Abiate', his brother, and had made war against my armies, my hands seized alive in the midst of battle. In Nineveh, my royal city, I flayed him.

832. After this, Ummanaldash, king of Elam, whom Assur and Ishtar had ordered, from of old, to be my servant, at the command of their exalted divinity, which (command) never changes, his land rose in revolt against him. Before the uprising of his servants, which they had instigated against him, he fled alone and took to the mountain(s). From out of the mountain(s), his place of refuge, whither he had flown, I hunted him like a falcon(?), and took him alive to Assyria.

833. Tammaritu, Pa'e (and) Ummanaldash, who had exercised the rulership over Elam one after the other, (and) whom I had caused to submit to my yoke through the might of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, Uaite', king of Arabia, whose defeat I had brought about at the command of Assur and Ishtar, (and) had taken him away from his land, to Assyria,—after I had gone up to offer sacrifices in Emashmash, the dwelling of their lordships, before Ninlil, mother of the great gods, beloved spouse of Assur, (and) had made my covenant with the gods of the *Bît-akit* ("House of the New Year's Feast"), I made these (kings) lay hold of the yoke of my coach. They drew (this) under me as far as the gate of the temple. (There) I prostrated myself upon my face, I glorified the deity, magnified the power,—in the presence of my armies,—of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, who had brought those not submissive to me in submission under my yoke, (and) with power and might had made me stand upon (the neck) of my foes.

834. Ishtar-dûri, king of Urartu, whose royal fathers had addressed (messages of) brotherhood to my fathers,—at this

time Ishtar-dûri heard of the mighty deeds which the great gods had apportioned as my lot, and, as a son sends (messengers recognizing) authority to his father, so he, after this manner, sent (a message) to me, saying: "Greeting(s) to the king, my lord." In fear and submission he had his costly (*lit.*, heavy) gifts brought before me.

The rebuilding of the royal harem; blessings and curses (*Col. X, ll. 51–120*)

835. At that time, the *bît-ridûti*, the private apartment (*lit.*, place of retiring) of the palace in Nineveh, the noble city, beloved of Ninlil, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the father of the father, my begetter, had built for his royal abode,—that *bît-ridûti* had become old amidst gladness and rejoicing, its walls had given way. I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world),—because I had grown up in this *bît-ridûti*, and Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, queen of (the divine) decrees, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, had guarded my (days of) crownprinceship (therein), had stretched over me their kindly (*lit.*, good) shadow, their shadow of safety; wherein, since (the day) I took my seat upon the throne of the father, who begot me, (and) exercised sovereignty over lands and widespread peoples, they have brought me message after message (*lit.*, continuous messages) of the glad (news) of the conquest of my foes; (because) on my bed, at night (*lit.*, bed of night), my dreams were favorable, on that of the morning, my thoughts were cheerful; (because) that abode is one that provides safety for its lords, (one) for whom the gods have decreed a favorable fate; (for these reasons) I tore down its ruined (portions). In order to widen its approach, I tore it down in its entirety. 50 *tipki* (layers of brick) high, I built a (retaining) wall (*lit.*,

structure) on the site where it had stood (*lit.*, site of its structure). I filled in the terrace. But I was fearful in the presence of the sanctuaries of the great gods, my lords, and did not raise the level (*lit.*, structure) of that terrace very much.

836. In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, I laid its foundations upon that terrace and built its brickwork. In sesame-wine and (grape)-wine, I put down its floor, I laid its mud walls. On Elamite wagons, which I had carried off at the command of the great gods, my lords, the people of my land brought the bricks for the building of that *bît-ridûti*. The kings of Arabia, who had violated the oaths sworn to me, whom I had taken alive in the midst of battle with my (own) hands, I made to carry the basket and headpad, and to do taskwork, for the building of that *bît-ridûti*. Molding its bricks, performing labor upon it, they passed their days to the accompaniment of music. Amidst gladness and rejoicing I completed (it) from its foundation to its top. I made it (*lit.*, its site) wider than it was before. I carried out the work upon a magnificent scale.

837. Great beams of cedar, the products of Mount Sirara and Lebanon, I used for its roofing (*lit.*, stretched over it). Door-leaves of juniper (*liaru*), whose odor is pleasant, I bound with a sheathing of copper and set them up in its doorways. Tall columns I inclosed with (sheets) of shining bronze and laid (thereon) the cornices of its portico (*bît-hilâni*). That *bît-ridûti*, my royal dwelling, I completed in every detail, I filled it with splendid (furnishings). A great park of all kinds of fruit trees of . . . . . I planted at its sides. I completed the task of its construction, I offered splendid sacrifices to the gods, my lords. Amidst gladness and rejoicing I dedicated it. I entered into it under (*lit.*, in) a gorgeous canopy.

838. In days to come, may the one among the kings, my

sons, whom Assur and Ishtar shall call to rule land and people, when that *bît-ridûti* shall become old and fall into ruins, restore its ruins. Let him look upon (*or*, *perhaps*, look for) the memorial with the inscription of my name, (that of) my father (and) my father's father—an endless line of royalty, let him anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, and set it up alongside the memorial inscribed with his name. And the great gods, all whose (names) are written upon this memorial, will surely grant him, as they did me, power and might.

839. Whoever destroys the memorial inscribed with my name, (that of) my father (and) my father's father, and does not set it up alongside his memorial, may Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal, and Nusku, pass judgment upon him in my name.

840. *Aiaru*, the fifteenth day. Eponymy of Shamash-dâninanni, governor of Akkad.[1]

II. CYLINDER B

841. Cylinder B, a broken prism (of eight sides), was written in the year 648 B.C. The text was published in IIIR, Plates 27, 29 (No. 3), and 30–34, and again by G. Smith, *op. cit.* Also by Winckler, *Sammlung*, III, 38–48. Fragments of British Museum duplicates are given in Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–78. A Berlin duplicate (fragmentary) appears in *VS*, I, No. 82.

Introduction (Col. I, ll. 1–30)

842. I am Assurbanipal, the great [king], the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the [four regions (of the world)]; offspring of the loins of Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; grandson of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

843. The great gods in their council (gathering) decreed

[1] The date, in our chronology, of this eponymy is uncertain. The suggestions range from 644 to 636 B.C.

(for me) a favorable destiny, and granted (me) a receptive mind (*lit.*, wide ear). They caused me (*lit.*, ⌜my belly⌝) to grasp all of the scribal art. In the assembly of princes, ⌜they magnified⌝ my name, they made my rule powerful. Might, virility, enormous power, they granted me; the insubmissive lands they placed (*lit.*, counted) in my hands. They caused me to attain unto the priesthood ⌜which I desired]. The offerings I brought were pleasing to ⌜the gods]. The sanctuaries of the great gods, my lords [I restored. I adorned⌝ (*lit.*, clothed) (them) with gold and [silver]. Colossi, storm-bird images[1] and mighty columns I set up by their gates. ⌜Esharra⌝, Emashmash, the temple of the Lady of the land . . . . , ⌜I made splendid⌝ like the ⌜heavenly "writing."⌝ The Lady, ... over . . . . . the land Ur- . . . . . (*Several lines missing.*) Adad [sent his] rains; Ea ⌜opened his fountains]. . . . . .[2]

First campaign (*Col. II, ll. 1–19*)

844. [The people] of Sais, Bintiti, Sa'nu, who had revolted, who had made common cause with [Tarkû, king of Ethiopia], I captured. [Great and small] I cut down with the sword. [Their corpses] I hung on stakes. [I tore off their skins] and covered the [wall] of the city (with them). [Those kings whom⌝ I had [set up] in Egypt as rulers, [who planned evil against⌝ the Assyrians, [I seized and brought] to Assyria. Tarkû, in the place where he had fled,—the terror of the weapon of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him and "the fate of his night" approached.

845. [Thereupon, Tandamanê⌝, son of his sister, [seated himself on the throne] of his kingdom. [Ni' and Unu] he made his ⌜strongholds⌝. [He gathered his forces⌝, [and, to make war on my armies, the Assyrians⌝, etc.[3]

[1] The mythological storm-bird called *Zû*.

[2] For the missing lines see Rassam, § 769.

[3] The rest of the first and the beginning of the second campaign have the same text as Rassam, §§ 775 f.

Second campaign ([*end*] *Col. II, ll. 30–33*)

846. Against Egypt and Ethiopia (Kush) I waged bitter warfare. With a full hand I returned in safety to Nineveh, my royal city.

Third campaign (*Col. II, l. 34—Col. III, l. 4*)

847. [In my third campaign] against Ba'li, king of Tyre, [who dwells in the midst of the sea], I marched. Because he did not mind my royal command, did not listen to the word of my mouth, I threw up [earthworks] against him. [To prevent the escape[1] of his people, I kept a strong guard (on the watch). On sea and the dry land I seized his roads, I prevented him from going (anywhere). I let little water and food, which would keep them alive, reach their mouths, (*lit.*, I made precious (little) the water, etc.). I threw a mighty, unescapable, cordon around them.[1]

848. I returned to him (Ba'li) his son, the offspring of his loins, and had mercy upon him. The earthworks which I had thrown up against Ba'li, king of Tyre, I tore down; wherever I had seized his roads, on sea or the dry land, I opened them up. Rich (heavy) tribute I received from him. I returned in safety to Nineveh, my royal city. The princes of the midst of the sea, and the kings dwelling in the high mountains, saw the might (which accomplished) these deeds of mine, and were afraid of my majesty (respected my rule). Iakinlû, king of Arvad, Mugallu, king of Tabal, who had not submitted to the kings, my fathers, submitted to my yoke. The daughters, offspring of their loins, and great dowries, they brought to Nineveh, to serve as my concubines, and kissed my feet. Upon Mugallu I imposed a yearly tribute of great horses. After Iakinlû, king of Arvad, had died, Azi-ba'al, Abi-ba'al, Aduni-ba'al, sons of Iakinlû, who dwelt in the midst of the sea, came up out of the sea, came with rich tribute and kissed

[1] The next ten lines are identical with Rassam, § 779.

my feet. I looked with favor upon Azi-ba'al and set him up as king of Arvad. Abi-ba'al (and) Auni-ba'al [I clothed] with brightly colored garments, put golden rings (on their fingers) and caused them to stand before me.[1]

849. (Gyges had a vision) Saying: "[Lay hold] of the feet of [Assurbanipal, the king of Assyria and conquer thy foes] by calling [upon his name]." On the day that he beheld this vision he dispatched his messenger to bring greetings to me. The Cimmerians, a wicked foe, [who did not fear[1] my fathers, and had not even laid hold of my royal feet,—(*Col. III*) [with the aid of Assur and] Marduk, my lords, he laid [bonds and fetters[1] upon them (and putting them) into a cage, brought them before me, together with his rich gifts that I might see his ———.

Fourth(?) *campaign* (*Col. III, ll. 5–15*)

850. [In my fourth campaign[1] I marched against the city of Kirbit, [which is in Halehasta[1]. Tandai, their chieftain, who [had not submitted] to the yoke of the kings, my fathers, while the people of Kirbit ⌜kept plundering⌝ the land of Emutbal,—[with the help] of Assur, Bêl and Nabû, [I besieged Kirbit, I captured it[1] and carried away its spoil. [Tandai, their chieftain[1], I captured [alive with my own hands] and brought him to Assyria. [The people of those cities, all that[1] I had despoiled, [I removed] and settled them in Egypt.

Fifth(?) *campaign* (*Col. III, l. 16—Col. IV, l. 14*)

851. [In my fifth campaign] I marched against Ahshêri, [king of the Mannai] . . . . . [who had not submitted(?)[1] . . . . . Mannai, ... Assur, ... I . . . . . and laid . . . . . Ahshêri [heard] of my army's advance and dispatched . . . . . During the night they advanced

[1] The next four lines are identical with Rassam, § 784, beginning.

stealthily to give battle, to engage my troops. My warriors fought with them and brought about their defeat. For a distance of 3 *bêru* ("double-hours") they filled the wide plain with ⌜their corpses⌝. At the command of Assur, Sin and Shamash, the great gods, my lords, who came to my aid, I entered the country of the Mannai and advanced victoriously. In the course of my march I captured Âusiash, the fortress of Pasha—su, Busutu, Ashdiash, Urkiamun, Uppish, Sihûa, Naziniri, eight strong cities, together with countless small cities, right up to the city of Izirtu, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (them) with fire. People, horses, asses, cattle (and) sheep, I brought forth from those cities and counted as spoil. Ahshêri heard of my army's advance, abandoned Izirtu, his royal city, fled to Atrâna, a garrisoned city of his, (and there) sought refuge. Izirtu, Urmête and Uzbia, his strong cities, I besieged. The people inhabiting those cities I shut up (therein) and made their cramped lives miserable (*lit.*, cramped and made miserable their lives). That district I conquered, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. (For a distance of) fifteen days'[1] journey I laid it waste and poured out misery upon it.

852. In the course of my campaign I captured the cities of the neighborhood of Paddiri, which the Mannai had seized in the time of the kings, my fathers, and appropriated for themselves. With fire I burned (them and) carried off their spoil. Those cities I brought within the Assyrian border.

853. The provinces of Arsianish, which is located opposite the city of Aikanani of the Harsi Mountains, at the head of the land of the Kumurdai, which is inside the land of the Mannai, I laid waste (and) burned them with fire. Raidishadî, their commandant, I slew and carried off his spoil. The province of Erishteiana I conquered. Its cities I laid waste, burned with fire and carried off their spoil. During the prog-

[1] Written, "ten days, five days."

ress of my campaign I devastated its province and diminished the area of its land. With much plunder and rich gifts I returned in safety and (once more) trod the Assyrian border. The cities of —rua, Sharru-ikbi, Gusunê, —rûte, cities of the [frontier[1] of Assyria, which the Mannai had seized in the time of the kings, my fathers,—these settlements I captured (and) I drove the Mannai out of them. Horses, weapons, their battle equipment, I carried off to Assyria. Those cities I restored and brought them within the Assyrian border. Ahshêri, who did not fear my sovereignty,—[Assur and Ishtar[1] delivered (*lit.*, counted) him into the hands of his servants. The people of his land started a rebellion against him. Into the street of his city they cast his body, leaving his corpse, etc.[1]

854. At that time Birishatri, a chieftain of the Medes, Sharati, Parihia, sons of Gagi, chieftain of the land of Sahi, who had thrown off the yoke of my dominion,—75 of their strong cities I captured and carried off their spoil. Them I seized alive with my own hands and brought to Nineveh, my royal city.

Andaria, chieftain of the land of Lubdu, who had marched out and advanced at night to take the lands of Ubbumme and Kullimmeri,—the inhabitants of Kullimmeri, subjects of mine, slew great numbers of his men during the night; not one escaped. They cut off the head of Andaria and brought it to me, to Nineveh.

Sixth campaign (Col. IV, ll. 15–83)

855. In my sixth campaign I marched against Urtaku, king of Elam, who gave no thought to the good (done him) by my father, (and) did not maintain friendly relations (with Assyria). When hard times arose in Elam and there was a famine, I sent him grain to keep alive the people and grasped

[1] The next fifteen lines are the same as Rassam, § 786, middle.

his hand (supported him). The people of his who had fled before the hard times and had settled in Assyria, until the rains came in his land and there was a harvest,—those people who had kept themselves alive in my land, I sent (back) to him. As for (that) Elamite, I had not considered (*lit.*, talked with my heart) (the possibility) of an attack by him, nor had I thought of him as an enemy (*lit.*, of his enmity). Bêl-ikîsha, of the [Gambulai, Nabû]-shum-eresh, the *GU-EN-NA*,[1] vassals of mine, [Marduk-shum]-ibni, (and other?) officials of Urtaku, [king of Elam], ⌜came to terms with them⌝ (the Elamites, *mentioned above*) and, to attack Akkad . . . . . and they stirred up [Urtaku, king] of Elam . . . . . whom I had not invited . . . . . he mustered, to battle . . . . . [to Karduniash (Babylonia) he hastened⌞, battle . . . . . the Elamite, who had come to Nineveh, spoke, ... he sent . . . . . to see the king . . . . . my messenger I dispatched and sent. He went, returned and he kept reporting to me these matters, saying: "The Elamite is overrunning (*lit.*, covering) Akkad, like a dense(?) swarm of grasshoppers. Over against Babylon the camp has been pitched, the halt made."

856. To bring aid to Bêl and Nabû, my gods, whose divinity I reverence, I mustered my warriors and took the road (to Akkad). He heard of the approach of my army, and fear overcame him, and he returned to his land. I took after him and defeated him. I pursued him as far as the border of his land. Urtaku, king of Elam, who did not maintain friendly relations,—on a day not appointed for him by fate, death [came upon him]. . . . . Amid sighing they(?) ended . . . . . in the land of the living (*lit.*, life) his feet. . . . . In that year his life came to an end(?).

857. Bêl-ikîsha, of Gambulu, who had cast off the yoke of my rule, lost his life through the bite of a wild boar. Nabû-

[1] An official.

shum-eresh, the *GU-EN-NA*, who had not kept (his) oath,—dropsy carried him off. Marduk-shum-ibni, his official, who led him astray, who had brought evil upon Urtaku,—on him Marduk, king of the gods, laid a heavy penalty. In the same (*lit.*, one) year, both of them died.[1] The heart of the angry Assur was not appeased toward them, the soul of Ishtar who aided me was not quieted over them. His royal dynasty they overthrew and gave the rule of Elam to another. Thereafter, Teumman, the image of a devil, seated himself on the throne of Urtaku. To slay the sons of Urtaku and the sons of Ummanaldâshe, brother of Urtaku, was his evil plan. Ummanigash, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, the sons of Urtaku, king of Elam, Kudurru, Parû, sons of Ummanaldâshe, the king who reigned (*lit.*, went) before Urtaku, and 60 of the royal seed, numberless archers (bowmen), free sons of Elam, who fled before the murder(ous hand) of Teumman, their uncle, laid hold of my royal feet.

Seventh campaign (*Col. IV, l. 84—Col. VI, l. 9*)

858. In my seventh campaign I marched against Teumman, king of Elam, who had dispatched (some of) his nobles (to me) in the matter of Ummanigash, Ummanappa (and) Tamaritu, sons of Urtaku, king of Elam, and Kudurru (and) Parû, sons of Ummanaldâshe, brother of Urtaku, king of Elam, (asking) for the extradition of those people who had fled and laid hold of my feet. I did not grant him that extradition,—because of the insolent (messages) he had sent monthly through (*lit.*, at the hand of) Umbadarâ and Nabûdâmik, while he was puffing himself up (*Col. V*) in Elam before his assembled armies. I trusted in Ishtar who came to my aid. I did not grant the request of his rebellious lips, did not give him those fugitives. Teumman planned evil; and Sin (the moon-god) planned evil signs (omens) for him. In

[1] *Lit.*, laid down life opposite each other.

the month of *Du'ûzu* there was an eclipse (of the moon). From daybreak (*lit.*, time of day) until (day)light it rested(?). And the sun was darkened like that one. For 3(?) days it rested(?),[1] presaging (*lit.*, for) the end of the dynasty of [the king] of Elam and the destruction of his land . . . . . me, the fruit of his decision which changes not. At that time an event befell him. His lip became stiff(?), his eye "turned" and a *gabbasu* grew (*lit.*, was placed) in it. But he was not ashamed of these things which Assur and Ishtar did to him, (but) mustered his troops. In the month of *Abu*, the month of the appearance (*nanmurti*) of the bow-star, of the feast of the honored queen, the daughter of Enlil, I was staying in Arbela, the city beloved of her heart, for the worship of the great (lady), (and) they brought me word of the approach of the Elamite who had gone forth, against the will of the gods, saying: "Teumman, whom Ishtar deprived of his reason, has spoken as follows: 'I will not give up until I come and fight a battle with him.' " It was on account of this insolence which Teumman uttered that I approached the exalted Ishtar, took my stand in her presence and bowed down before her. I implored her divinity, my tears flowing, and said: "Lady of Arbela, I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands, [whom Assur king of the gods], thy father, [commanded] to restore the sanctuaries of Assyria and complete (the rebuilding) of the cities of Akkad. I have sought out thy sanctuary and have come to worship [thy deity]. Now this Teumman, king of Elam, who does not esteem (*lit.*, value) the gods, [is setting in motion his whole military establishment to make war upon me].

859. O thou lady of ladies, goddess of war, lady of battle, who gives counsel to the [great] gods, who didst speak (words) of grace before Assur, thy father, (so that) he chose me by the ⌜lifting up of his eyes], (desiring) [that I should be king].

[1] An exceedingly obscure passage.

To make glad the heart of Assur and to bring peace to the soul of Marduk, ... because of Teumman, king of Elam, who has rebelled (*lit.*, sinned) against Assur, king of the gods, thy father, ... and against Marduk, thy full brother, his divinity . . . . . whereas I, Assurbanipal, who for the peace of the heart of Assur and [Marduk] . . . . . He has mustered his armies, has set his hosts in array for battle, inviting to arms, as he marches against Assyria. O thou heroic one among the gods, rip him open in the fight, as one rips open a bundle; let loose upon him a tempest, an evil wind."

860. Ishtar heard my distressful sighs. "Do not fear," she said, (and) put trust into my heart. "Because of thy hands which thou hast raised in prayer, and thy eyes which were filled with tears, I have had mercy upon thee."

861. During that same night in which I approached her, a seer lay down and had a dream. When he woke up, Ishtar caused him to see a vision of the night. He informed me (of its content): "Ishtar, who dwells in Arbela, entered. On (her) right and left she had quivers, she held a bow in her hand, a sharp sword she held unsheathed for battle. Thou didst stand before her and she talked with thee like the mother who bore thee. Ishtar, exalted among the gods, addressed thee, laying upon thee this word: 'Thou seest (a vision directing thee) to make war(?). Wherever thy face is turned, (thither) will I go.' Thou saidst to her: 'Where thou goest I will go with thee, O lady of ladies.' She repeated to thee (these instructions): 'Thou shalt remain here, where the abode of Nabû is. Eat food, drink wine, provide music, honor my divinity, until I go and carry out this work and cause thee to attain unto thy heart's desire. Thy face shall not grow pale, thy feet shall not be weary, thy strength shall not fail in the midst of battle.' In her kindly embrace she clasped thee and protected thy whole

body (*lit.*, stature). Before her a flame burst forth (fiercely, *so v.*). For the overthrow of thy(?) foes she . . . . . at (thy) side. Against Teumman king of Elam, against whom she was enraged, she turned her face."

862. In *Ululu*, (the month) of the work(?) of the goddesses, of the feast of the exalted Assur, the month of Sin, the illuminator of heaven and earth, I put my trust in the oracle of the shining Nannar and the message of Ishtar, my lady, which does not change. I mustered my warriors, my fighters who, at the command of Assur, Sin and Ishtar, (freely) expose themselves to the risks of battle. Against Teumman, king of Elam, I took the road, and ⌜made straight for⌝ him. Before me Teumman, king of Elam, pitched [(his) camp, and spent the night⌝. He heard of my majesty's entrance into Dêr and terror seized him. Teumman was frightened and turned back and entered Susa, ... to save his life . . . . . to the people of his land . . . . . went at his side, turned back his face(?) . . . . . he sent to me.

863. The ⌜Ulai⌝ River he made his stronghold . . . . . he blocked my way . . . . . Trusting in . . . . . Marduk, the great gods, my lords, who came to my aid through the signs of a "word-dream," the "work" of an oracle priest, I brought about his defeat in the city of Tulliz. With their corpses I blocked the Ulai. With their bodies I filled the plain about Susa as with *baltu* and *ashagu*. The head of Teumman, king of Elam, at the command of Assur and Marduk, the great gods, my lords, [I cut off] in the presence of [his] armies. The terrible splendor of Assur and Ishtar overwhelmed Elam and they bowed to my yoke. Ummanigash, who had fled and laid hold of my feet, I set upon his (Teumman's) throne.

864. (*Col. VI*) Tammaritu, his third brother, I set up as king in the city of Hidalu. Chariots, wagons, horses, mules, broken to the yoke, weapons of (*lit.*, suitable for) battle, which with the aid of Assur and Ishtar, the great gods, my

lords, my hands had captured between Susa and the Ulai, at the command of Assur and the great gods, my lords, I brought them out of Elam, joyfully; and to every one of my soldiers a gift was given.

Eighth campaign (*Col. VI, l. 10—Col. VII, l. 58.*)

865. In my eighth campaign I marched against Dunanu, son of Bêl-ikîsha, in (*lit.*, to) Gambulu, who had put his trust in the king of Elam, had not submitted to my yoke. I overwhelmed (*lit.*, covered) Gambulu in its entirety, in a terrible battle, like a storm. Sha-pî-bêl, his stronghold, which is situated in the midst of the waters, I captured. Dunanu (and) his brothers I brought forth alive from the midst of that city. His wife, his sons, his daughters, his concubines, his male and female singers, I brought out and counted as spoil. Silver, gold, goods, the treasure of his palace, I brought out and counted as spoil. . . . . his vizier, his . . . . . I brought out and counted as spoil. . . . . all there were, ... I counted as spoil. Massi . . . . . of Teumman, [king of Elam], who at the invitation [of Dunanu] lived in ⌜Shapî-bêl⌝, I seized alive ⌜with my (own) hands], from the presence of Dunanu, ... That city I destroyed, I ⌜devastated⌝, I [ruined it] totally (*lit.*, to not being), with [water] I devastated that province. The sound of human voices (*lit.*, noise of humankind) I shut off from it. With the help of Assur, Bêl, Nabû, the great gods, I pushed back my foes (and) returned to Nineveh in safety. The head of Teumman, king of Elam, I hung on the neck of Dunanu. With the Elamite captives, the booty of Gambulu, which at the command of Assur my hands had captured, with singers and music I entered Nineveh amidst rejoicing.

866. Umbadarâ (and) Nabû-dâmik, nobles of Teumman, king of Elam, by whose hands Teumman had sent me (his) insolent message, whom I had detained in my presence

to await (*lit.*, while they awaited) my decision, saw the severed head of Teumman, their lord, in Nineveh, and insanity seized them. Umbadarâ tore off his beard and Nabû-dâmik stabbed himself (*lit.*, pierced his belly) with his iron girdle dagger. The severed head of Teumman I displayed conspicuously in front of the gate inside Nineveh, that the severed head of Teumman, king of Elam, might show the people the might of Assur and Ishtar, my lords. Shumai, son of Nabû-salim, grandson of Merodach-baladan, whose father had fled to Elam before my father,—after I had set up Ummanigash as king in Elam, he seized Shumai, son of Nabû-salim, and brought him before me. Dunanu (and) Samgunu, sons of Bêl-ikîsha of Gambulu, whose fathers had made trouble for the kings, my fathers, as they also made difficult the exercise of my sovereignty,—I brought them (respectively?) to the cities of Assur and Arbela, for future obedience. Of Mannu-ki-ahê, ... Dunanu, and Nabû-usalli, men who (ruled) over Gambulu, who had spoken in great disrespect against my gods,—in Arbela I tore out their tongues and flayed them. Dunanu they laid upon a skinning-table in Nineveh and slaughtered him like a lamb. The others, (namely) the brother of Dunanu and Shumai, I slew. I cut off their members (*lit.*, flesh) and had (them) carried about as an object lesson for all lands (*or*, to be gazed at by the whole land [of Assyria]). Nabû-nâ'id (and) Bêl-êtir, sons of Nabû-shum-êresh, the *GU-EN-NA*, whose father (Nabû-shum-êresh) Urtaku had aroused to fight against Akkad,—the bones of Nabû-shum-êresh, which they had brought from Gambulu to Assyria, these bones I had his sons crush in front of the gate inside Nineveh.

867. Ummanigash, whom I had done many favors (*lit.*, much good) and whom I had set up as king of Elam, who was not mindful of (this) kindness, who did not keep the oath (and) curse, (taken in the name) of the great gods, who re-

ceived a bribe from the hands of the ambassador of Shamash-shum-ukîn, (*Col. VII*) my faithless brother, (and) sent his forces with them (the Babylonians), to fight my armies, my warriors, who were marching about in Babylonia (and) trampling down Chaldea,—without its being known (*i.e.*, secretly), (Ummanigash) sent them to Undasi, son of Teumman, king of Elam, and Zazaz, governor of Pillatu, Parû, governor of Hilmu, Attametu, captain of archers, and Nêshu, the commandant of the armies of Elam, and gave them orders to fight the Assyrian armies. Ummanigash spoke to Undasi as follows: "Go, take revenge upon Assyria for thy father, thy begetter." Undasi, Zazaz, Parû, Attametu, and Nêshu, together with the ambassadors of Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother, took the road and made straight (for Akkad). My troops who were marching about in Babylonia and trampling down [Chaldea] . . . . . Elam . . . . . Attametu . . . . . they . . . . . and [brought[1] into my presence . . . . . these . . . . . Ummanigash held back the . . . . . of [Undasi(?)[1] . . . . . my command. . . . . Assur, Bêl, Nabû, Nergal, the great gods, my lords, decreed a righteous judgment in my favor (and) against Ummanigash. Tammaritu revolted against him and cut down him and his family with the sword. Tammaritu, who was even more wicked than that one, (now) sat on the throne of Elam. Like that one he received bribes (from Shamash-shum-ukîn) and did not pay his respects to my majesty. He went to the aid of Shamash-shum-ukîn, my faithless brother, and rushed forward his arms to fight my troops. In (answer to) the prayers which I addressed to Assur and Ishtar, (these) received my supplications (*lit.*, sighs), heard the words of my lips. His servants revolted against him and fought among themselves (slew one another). My enemy,[1] Indabigash, his servant, who had started the revolt

[1] *V.*, my favorite. Probably due to scribal error.

against him, (now) seated himself upon his throne. Tammaritu, king of Elam, who had spoken insolently about the heading of Teumman, whom a camp-follower(?) of my army had beheaded;—(he) and his brothers, his family, the seed of his father's house, together with 85 nobles of Elam, who went at his side, who had fled before the weapon of Assur and Ishtar and . . . . . (*Ten lines lost.*)

Ninth(?) *campaign* (*Col. VII, l. 70—Col. VIII, l. 57*)

868. . . . . . Tammaritu, together with . . . . . the seed of his father's house, I ⌜lodged⌝ in my palace. Indabigash who seated himself on the throne of Elam after Tammaritu, saw the might of my arms, which I caused to rage bitterly against Elam. The Assyrians, whom I had sent at the request of Nabû-bêl-shumâte, son of Merodach-baladan, who were going about with him like a friend and companion, to protect his land, (and) whom Nabû-bêl-shumâte had seized, through lies, and had taken with him under restraint, —these Indabigash, king of Elam, let go forth from their prison-house. To make intercession . . . . . his . . . . . of grace, not . . . . . border of his land, by the hand of his ambassador he sent to me, [to enter into a solemn⌝ covenant (*lit.*, [to establish an oath⌝ and covenant).

869. Iauta', son of Hazael, king of Kidri, who rendered me service (*i.e.*, was a vassal of mine), came before me and besought my majesty in behalf of his gods which the father, my begetter, had carried off. I made him speak the name of the great gods (*i.e.*, take oath by the great gods) and gave him back the god Atarsamain. Later he violated the oath (sworn) to me and had no regard for (*lit.*, did not guard) the favor(s) (I showed him), but cast off the yoke of my sovereignty. He kept his feet from (coming) to greet me (crave peace from me) and withheld his gifts. The people of Arabia he roused to revolt with him and plundered Amur-

ru. My armies, which were stationed on the border of his land, I sent against him. (*Col. VIII.*) They defeated them (the Arabs). The people of Arabia, all who had gone forth (to battle), they cut down with the sword. The tents, their dwellings, they set on fire and left to the flames. Cattle, sheep, asses, camels (and) slaves, they carried off in countless numbers, (and) filled up (with them) the whole land (of Assyria), in its entirety, to its farthest border. I divided camels (into lots) like sheep, distributed them among the people of Arabia (*mistake for* Assyria). In my land a camel was sold at from 1 to ½ shekels of silver, in the markets (*lit.*, gate of sale). The *sutammu* received camels and slaves for his gift, the sherbet-vendor (the same) for a cup (of his drink), (and) the gardener (the same) for his plants (shoots?).

870. [Iauta' together] with the Arabs who had fled before my arms, the warrior Irra (the pest-god) brought low. Famine broke out ⌜among them⌝. To satisfy ⌜their hunger they ate⌝ the flesh of their children. [All of the curses] written down [in] the oath they took . . . . . Ishtar of Nineveh . . . . . As for Iauta', evil befell him and he fled alone to the land of Nabaiti. Abiate', son of Te'ri, came to Nineveh and kissed my feet. I made a treaty (*lit.*, oath) with him (entailing) homage (*lit.*, doing of service) to me. In place of Iauta' I set him up as king in So-and-so. (The payment of) gold, "eye" (-stones), *PI*-stones, antimony (*guhlu*), camels, stud-asses, as yearly tribute I imposed upon him. Ammuladi, king of Kadri, who like that one was hostile (toward me) and plundered the kings of Amurru,—with the help of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal and Girru, and in my name (*lit.*, the mention of my name), which Assur had made great, ⌜Kamashaltâ(?)⌝ king of Moab, a vassal of mine, defeated him in open battle. Ammuladi (and) the rest of his

people, who [had fled before the might of Assur], he captured with (his own) hands, bound them hand and foot with iron fetters and sent them to Nineveh into my presence. Natnu, king of Nabaiti, whose home (*lit.*, place) is afar off, heard of the might of Assur (and) Marduk, who were my support, and, although he had never sent his ambassadors to the kings, my fathers, nor greeted their majesties (*lit.*, asked the peace of their majesties), he now sent his "ambassador of peace" to me and kissed my feet, imploring my lordship to administer (to him) the covenant oath of vassalage to me. I looked upon him with favor and turned my gracious countenance toward him. Tribute and yearly gifts I imposed upon him.

(*A gap in the text.*)

871. At that time Rusâ, king of Urartu, heard of the might of the gods, my lords, and the fear of my majesty overwhelmed him. His nobles he sent to greet me (ask my peace) at Arbela.

(*Another gap; the end of Col. VIII follows.*)

Conclusion of building inscription

872. As I have placed the memorial with my inscribed name beside the memorial with the name of my father, so may you, even as I, look upon my memorial, anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, set it beside the memorial inscribed with thy name, and the great gods, all whose (names) are written in the memorial, will be gracious to thy kingship and favorable. Whoever destroys the memorial on which my name is inscribed and the name of Esarhaddon, my father, blots out (those names) through some clever trick, does not set (it) up alongside of the memorial inscribed with his name, may the great gods of heaven and earth destroy his rule, blot out his name and his seed from the land.

873. Month of *Abu* . . . . . , *limmu* (eponymy) of Bêl-shunu (648 B.C.).[1]

III. CYLINDER C

874. The text of the Cylinder C inscription is made up of the fragments of a number of prisms: K 1794, published in part in IIIR, Plate 27 and plate 54; again in G. Smith, *Assurbanipal*, pp. 31 f., and S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, II, Plate IV; Rm 3, published in S. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, Plates V–VI; K 1848, published by G. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31; K 3043, published in IIIR, 36, No. 6.

First campaign (Col. I)

875. In [my first] campaign [I marched] against Magan [and Meluhha]. Tarkû, king of [Egypt and Kush,] whom Esarhaddon, king of [Assyria, my father], had defeated, and ⌜whose land he had brought under his sway,—that Tarkû forgot] the power of Assur and [Ishtar and the great gods], my lords, trusted in his ⌜own⌝ strength, marched against the kings and ⌜prefects] whom my father ⌜who begot me], had installed in Egypt, (intent) on killing, plundering and seizing ⌜Egypt⌝. He broke in ⌜upon them⌝ and settled down in ⌜Memphis⌝, the city which my father had captured and brought within the border of his land (*i.e.*, empire). A swift messenger came to Nineveh and told me. At these deeds my heart became enraged, my soul cried out. I mustered my mighty forces which Assur and Ishtar had put into my hands, (and) made straight for Egypt and Kush.

876. In the course of my campaign, Ba'alu, king of Tyre, Minsê (Manasseh), king of Iaudi (Judah), Kaush-gabri, king of Edom, Musuri, king of Moab, Sil-bêl, king of Gaza, Mitinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of Ekron, Milki-ashapa, king of Gubla (Byblos), Iakinlû, king of Arvad, Abi-ba'al, king of Samsi-muruna, Ammi-nadbi, king of Bêth-Ammon, Ahu-

[1] Duplicates are dated in the month of *Abu*, the sixth day, *limmu* of Nabu-shar-ahê-shu, governor of Samaria (Samirina), and in the month of *Du'uzu*, *limmu* . . . . . governor of Damascus(?).

milki, king of Ashdod, Ekishtura, king of Edi'li, Pilâgurâ, king of Kitrusi, Kîsu, king of Silûa, Ituandar, king of Pappa, Erîsu, king of Sillu, Damasu, king of Kurî, Admesu, king of Tamesu, Damûsu, king of Karti-hadasti, Unasagusu, king of Lidir, Bususu, king of Nurê,—in all 22 kings of the seacoast, of the midst of the sea and of the dry land, vassals of mine, brought their rich (*lit.*, heavy) gifts [before me] and kissed my feet. ⌜Those kings], together with their forces . . . . . .
. . . . . .

877. Col II has the same text as Rassam, Col. II, ll. 20–37, with the exception of a reading, "A second time I made straight for Egypt," instead of "In my second campaign, etc."

Col. VIII, ll. 47 ff. is a variant of the narrative of Cylinder B, Col. VII, ll. 72–87; cf. §§ 868 f.

878. Concerning Nabû-bêl-shumâte, son of Merodach-baladan, a vassal of mine, who had fled and gone to Elam, and the rest of the Assyrians whom Nabû-bêl-shumâte had got hold of through lies and had taken with him, I sent the following (message) to Indabigash through his messenger: "Because you have not sent (back) these people, I am coming to destroy your cities. I will carry off [the people] of Susa, Madaktu (and) Hidalu. I will hurl you from your royal throne, and ⌜I will place another⌝ on your throne. The (evil) which (the gods) inflicted upon Teumman, I will bring upon you."

879. That messenger of his had not reached him (*lit.*, arrived before him) nor told him the purport of my order, (when) [through the intervention (*lit.*, aid)⌝ of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nusku and Nergal, who go at my side and overcome my foes, they heard in Elam of [the coming] of my messenger whom I had sent to Dêr. The fear of my majesty, with which the great gods ⌜have clothed (*lit.*, adorned) me,⌝ overwhelmed Elam and [his land] revolted against Indabigash. They slew

him with the sword and placed Ummanaldasi, son of Attametu, upon his throne.

880. (*Col. IX, ll. 34–49*) ⌜Iauta'⌝ . . . . . to Nabaiti [had fled and had come] before Natnu. Natnu spoke to Iauta' as follows: "Shall I escape the hand of Assyria when you make me your defense?" Natnu was afraid, he became terrified. He sent his ambassadors to greet me (*lit.*, ask my peace), and kissed my feet, imploring my lordship to make a covenant treaty (with him) entailing homage to me. I looked upon him with favor, turned my gracious face toward him. Tribute and yearly gifts I imposed upon him.

Building operations (*Col. IX, l. 50—Col. X, l. 84*)

881. At that time the wall, inside the city of Nineveh, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the father of the father my begetter, had built, whose foundation had given way and its turrets fallen, on account of the abundant showers and heavy rains which Adad had yearly sent upon my land during my reign, ... its . . . . . had become old, its walls weak. Its weak (parts) I tore down . . . . . its foundation (platform) I strengthened. . . . . Ishtar . . . . . when I marched through the lands . . . . . I wrote and . . . . . .

882. In days to come [may the prince] . . . . . whom Assur and Ishtar [shall call] . . . . . palace . . . . . let him restore its ruins. May he look upon the memorial with my name inscribed (on it) and the name of Esarhaddon, my father, may he anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices and set it up alongside of the memorial with his name inscribed (upon it). And the great gods, all whose (names) are written on this memorial, may they grant him, as (they did) me, power and might. (But) whoever destroys the memorial with my name inscribed upon it (and) the name of Esarhaddon, my father, and does not set it up alongside of

his memorial, may the gods who dwell in heaven and on earth curse him with an evil curse. . . . . .

883. (*Col. X*) . . . . . who dwells in the shrine . . . . . they(?) made glorious, ... my lordship. The sanctuaries of Assyria and Akkad, of which ⌜Esarhaddon,⌝[1] king of Assyria, my father, had laid the foundation, but had not completed the construction, I at this time, at the command of the great gods, my lords, have completed their construction. Eharsaggalkurkurra I completed. The temple of Assur, my lords, I finished. Its walls I covered (*lit.*, clothed) with gold and silver. Mighty columns I covered with a sheathing of silver and in the gate "Abundance of the lands," I set them up. Assur I brought into Eharsaggula[1] and made it (his) eternal shrine. Esagila, the temple of the gods, I rebuilt, I completed its (whole) outline. The tablet(?) of my lady, Bêlit of Babylon, Ea, (and) Daiân, I brought from Esharra and deposited it in Shuanna. The *Barmahhu* ("great shrine"), the abode of his exalted godhead,—with 50 talents of bright *zahalû* I fashioned bricks and I built and made it (the *Barmahhu*) big over him (the god). *Iremanu*, mulberry (*musukkâni-*) and ⌜*sidarê*⌝-trees, which are high as heaven, ⌜I covered with 34 talents of ruddy gold, and (with these) I strengthened its structure.

884. Over Marduk, the great lord, I stretched his canopy and built his roof(?). The great chariot, the vehicle of Marduk, chief of the gods, lord of lords,—I completed its construction with gold, silver and precious stones. To Marduk, king of the totality of heaven and earth, who casts down my foes, I presented it as a gift. The couch of mulberry and *sidarê*-wood, which was covered with *pashallu*, and adorned with precious stones . . . . . Bêl and my lady, ... dwells, I fashioned artistically . . . . . dwelling of Zarpanit, ... I laid a *salhu* . . . . . .

[1] Probably shortened form of Eharsaggalkurkurra.

. . . . mighty [wild-oxen], who guard the step of my majesty, I set up in the east gate, and the gate of the great Lamassu, in the gate of Ezida which is in Borsippa.

885. Emashmash, the temple of the Lady of the Land, I adorned with silver and gold, (and) filled it with sumptuous (equipment). [Ishtar of Nineveh], the queen of Kidmuri, who, in the anger of her heart, had left her abode and had dwelt in a place not befitting her (divinity), in my reign . . . . . which Assur had granted, became reconciled. To restore completely (the image) of her exalted godhead, to make mighty her precious . . . . . kept sending (word) continuously . . . . . they [answered] me (with) an unmistakable affirmation . . . . . made mighty . . . . . for all time to come . . . . . (I) established and . . . . . before me . . . . . I brought and stretched over . . . . . That temple which had become old,—at the command of Sin and Nusku, I tore down its ruined portions. I made its site larger (*lit.*, wider) than it had been before. From its foundation to its top I rebuilt and finished it.

886. Emelamanna, the temple of Nusku, the exalted herald (? of the gods), which a king who (lived) before me had built, over the [chambers[1] in it I stretched great cedar-beams. Door-leaves of juniper (*liaru*) I bound with a band of silver and placed them in their doors. Silver wild-oxen, who gore my foes, I set up in the abode of Sin, my lord. Two *Lahme* of *eshmaru* whose . . . . . who guard my royal step (and) who let in the products of the mountains and the sea, I set up by (in) the gate of the "House of Delight." The hands of Sin and Nusku I grasped, brought them into, and settled them in, (their) eternal abode (shrine).

887. The sanctuaries of Assyria and Akkad, I completely (restored) all of them. The temple vessels, all there were, I restored in silver and gold . . . . . my fathers, I added . . . . . (my) helpers . . . . . .

IV. CYLINDER D

888. Cylinder D is made up of a number of fragments in the British Museum collections. Only small sections of the text have been published, namely, Col. IV, ll. 17–33, by G. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 317 f.; and Col. V, ll. 1–17 in IIIR, Plate 27. The prisms were inscribed in commemoration of the building of the inner city wall at Nineveh.

889. (*Col. V, ll. 1–17*) . . . . . lead(?) . . . . . 10 *homers* of *Pat*-grain, ... oil . . . . . in all of my land, the earth . . . . . yearly, and in abundance . . . . . I governed the subjects . . . . . From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, the kings of the rising and the setting sun brought their tribute. The peoples dwelling in the sea . . . . . I brought in submission to my feet. At the command of Assur and Ishtar . . . . . they kissed my feet. Mighty princes who . . . . . At their invitation . . . . . .

In my first campaign, etc. (*Ll. 18–32=Rassam, Col. I, ll. 52–63, §§ 770 f.*)

890. (*Col. IV, ll. 17–33*) At that time the wall inside the city of Nineveh, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the father of the father my begetter, had built, whose foundation had given way and its turrets fallen, on account of the abundant showers and heavy rain which Adad had yearly sent upon my land during my reign; . . . . . its . . . . . had become old and its walls weak. [Its ruined parts] I tore down . . . . . Its foundation (platform) I strengthened. The foundation (platform) of that wall . . . . . mountain(?) . . . . . ; from its foundation to its top I completely rebuilt it. I made its foundation (platform) stronger than it had been before. A memorial with my name inscribed upon it, as well as the glory of my bravery,—how with the help of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nusku and Nergal, I marched about in the lands, and established power and might, I wrote (upon it) and left it for the days to come.

V. CYLINDER E

891. The fragments which make up the Cylinder E text are K 1828, of which Col. I was published in IIIR, 29, No. 2, and again in G. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.; and K 1821, edited in part in G. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 f. and 82 f.

892. *a.* . . . . . and . . . . . distant . . . . . Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my father, had proceeded and marched into it. The defeat of Tarkû, king of Kush, he had brought about, and had shattered his might. Egypt and Kush he had conquered and spoil that was countless he had carried off therefrom. That land he had brought under his sway in its entirety, and had brought it inside the Assyrian border. The former names of the cities he had changed and he had given them new names. His servants he had set up ⌜over the cities therein⌝ as kings and governors. Tribute and [yearly] taxes, due his lordship, he had imposed upon them . . . . . *ashli* of ground . . . . . Memphis.

893. *b.* To the border of my land, the people of my land . . . . . "Who are you, stranger," they said, "into ⌜whose land] never yet a messenger (rider) has made his way?" To Nineveh, my royal city . . . . . they brought him, into my presence. The tongues (languages) of (the lands of the) rising and setting sun, which Assur had put [into my hands],—there was none who understood his tongue, his tongue . . . . . they did not hear . . . . . from the border of my land . . . . . with him he(?) ⌜brought⌝.

894. *c.* His ⌜warriors⌝ they cut down with the sword. Asses, cattle, sheep, his heavy spoil, they carried away to Assyria. ⌜Tandai⌝, their chieftain, they captured alive and brought him into my presence. The people of these cities I took away and settled them in Egypt. People, who had been captured by my bow, of another land, in [the city of] Kirbit and its towns, I settled.

VI. CYLINDER F

895. Photographs of three fragments of a cylinder, which has been labeled F, were published by Scheil, *Le Prisme S d'Assarhaddon*, Plates 6–7.

The text is largely a duplicate of the Rassam Cylinder. Ll. 8–14 = Rm, II, 28*b*–32; *a*, ll. 16*b*–20*a* = Rm, II, 33–37*a*; *a*, ll. 23–29 = Rm, II, 39–43; *a*, ll. 30–36 = Rm, II, 49–57; *b*, ll. 1–10 = Rm, II, 92–97; *b*, ll. 14–17 = Rm, II, 109–10; *b*, ll. 18–36 = Rm, II, 126—III, 2; *c*, ll. 1–22 = Rm, III, 48–74.

The first seven lines of fragment *a* read:

896. Among men, kings, and among the beasts, lions(?) were powerless before my bow. I know (the art) of waging battle and combat. I have been shown(?) (how to draw up) the battle line and to fight. A valiant hero, beloved of Assur and Ishtar, of royal lineage, am I.

At the beginning of my rule, in my first campaign, etc.

Instead of Rassam, Col. II, l. 38, we have in fragment *a*, ll. 20*b*–23, the following:

897. With the aid of Assur and Sin, Shamash(?), Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal and Nusku, I captured Ni', his royal city(?), in its totality.

CHAPTER X

ASSURBANIPAL; HISTORICAL TEXTS INSCRIBED ON TABLETS

898. Besides the Cylinder inscriptions, there are a large number of building texts from Assurbanipal's reign, containing selections from the "royal annals," which were inscribed upon clay tablets.

I. TEXT COMMEMORATING THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE OF SIN AT HARRAN

899. The following text, built up from variants on K 2675 and K 228, commemorated the rebuilding of the temple of Sin, Ehulhul, at Harran. For the publication of K 2675 see IIIR, Plates 28–29*a;* G. Smith, *Assurbanipal*, pp. 36 f., 55 f., 80 f., 73 f.; S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, II, Plate 3.

900. The kings of the rising and the setting sun came and kissed my feet. Tirhakah (Tarkû), without (the permission) of the gods, marched forth to seize Egypt,—to ⌜slay(?)⌝. The power of Assur, my lord, he despised and trusted in his own might. The evil treatment which my father had given him had not penetrated his mind (*lit.*, heart), so he came and entered Memphis. That city he took for himself. Against the Assyrians who were in Egypt, my vassals, whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my father, had set up as kings therein, he sent his army to kill, to plunder, to despoil. A swift courier came to Nineveh and reported to me. At these deeds my heart became enraged, my soul cried out. I called the *turtan*, the governors, and the men under them (*lit.*, their hands), my noble warriors, and gave them the order to make the greatest haste to aid the kings (and) governors, my vassals. I set their feet on the road to Egypt. With furious haste they marched and came to Karbaniti. Tirhakah, king of Kush, heard of the coming of my armies, in Memphis. He

mustered his armies for combat and battle (and) drew (them) up in front of my hosts. With the help of Assur, Sin, the great gods, my lords, who go at my side, they defeated them in open battle. They cut down his picked troops with the sword.

901. As for that one—fear (and) terror fell upon him, so that he went insane. From Memphis, his royal city, the place in which he had trusted, he departed, and, to save his life, went aboard a ship. He abandoned his camp and fled alone and entered Ni' (Thebes). The ships of war, all that he had with him, (my) warriors seized. A messenger told me the good news (in the place) whither ⌜I had returned⌝. The Rab-shakê, the governors, the kings of the Ebir-nâri ("Beyond the River"), all of them vassals of mine, together with their armies (and) their ships, the kings of Egypt, vassals of mine, together with their armies (and) their ships, I added to my armies (who were there) before, and dispatched (them) to oust Tirhakah from Egypt and Kush. Toward Ni' (Thebes), the stronghold of Tirhakah, king of Kush, they marched—a journey of a month (and) 10 days. Tirhakah, who heard of the approach of my armies, left Ni', his stronghold, crossed the Nile (Iaru'u, Hebrew יְאֹר) and set up his camp on the other side.

902. Nikkû, Sharru-lu-dari, Pakruru, kings whom my father had set up in Egypt, violated (transgressed) the oath they had sworn by Assur and the great gods, my lords, and broke their treaty (*lit.*, curse). They forgot the kindness (*lit.*, good) shown them by my father, and their hearts planned evil. They plotted insurrection, following their own counsel, —a counsel not resting upon an oracle, saying: "They are driving Tirhakah out of Egypt, how can we remain?" To Tirhakah, king of Kush, they sent their couriers, for the purpose of swearing fealty, saying: "Let a treaty[1] be established

[1] Possibly to be translated "good-will."

between us, let us be of help to one another. Let us divide the land between us, let no other be lord among us."

903. Against my multitudes of Assyrian warriors they formed an evil plan. To save their lives (*i.e.*, themselves) they plotted (*lit.*, envisaged, pictured) the total destruction (of my army). My officials heard of these things and met their cunning with cunning. They seized their couriers, together with their messages, and saw (with their own eyes) their rebellious plot.

904. Sharru-lu-dari (and) Nikkû they seized, threw them into bonds and fetters of iron, (shackling them) hand and foot. The curse of Assur, king of the gods, came upon them because they had sinned against (their) solemn (*lit.*, great) oaths. I required at their hands the good I had done them, in kindness. And the people of the cities, all that had joined with them and plotted evil, they cut down with the sword, great and small. [Not a man] among them escaped. And those (kings) they brought to [Nineveh], into my presence.

905. Then I, Assurbanipal, ... of good, who turns (his thoughts) to pious deeds, on Nikkû, the ⌜vassal of mine whom my father] had set up ⌜as king⌝ in Kâr-bêl-mâtâte, I took pity and passed judgment in his favor(?). I laid upon him an oath ⌜more drastic⌝ than the former. I inspired his heart with confidence, ⌜clothed him in splendid (brightly colored) garments⌝, laid upon him a golden chain as the emblem of his royalty. I ⌜put⌝ rings of gold upon his fingers, gave him a girdle dagger, set in gold (*i.e.*, with a golden haft), [having written] my name upon it. Chariots, horses, and mules I presented to him for ⌜his royal riding⌝. My officials I sent with him, at ⌜his request], (to act) as governors. I sent him back to his base in Sais, whose (new) name is [Kâr-bêl]-mâtâte, where my father had set him up as king. I showed him even greater favor and grace than that of my father and estab-

lished Nabû-shezibanni, his son, as king in ⌜Hathariba⌝, whose name (now) is Limir-ishakku-Assur.

906. As for Tirhakah, king of Kush, the fear and terror of my sovereignty overwhelmed him and the night of death overtook him. Tandamanê, son of his sister, seated himself on his throne and ruled the land. Ni' (Thebes) he made his stronghold. He gathered his forces and, to engage in combat and battle, he advanced his arms, he took the road, against my armies. With the aid of Assur, Sin and the great gods, my lords, they defeated him in open battle, they shattered his forces. Tandamanê fled alone and entered Ni', his royal city. A journey of a month and 10 days they pursued him over difficult trails, up to Ni'. That city they captured in its entirety and leveled (it) like a flood.

907. (*Rev.*) Gold, silver, the dust of his mountain, precious stones of all kinds, the treasure ⌜of his palace⌝, brightly colored (woolen) garments, linen, mighty horses, people, male and female, monkeys(?), apes(?) (and) okapis(?), the inhabitants (*lit.*, products) of their mountains, they brought out of his ⌜gate(?)⌝ in numbers (*lit.*, multitudes) that were countless and counted them as spoil. To Nineveh, my royal city, they brought them in safety, and kissed my feet.

908. The city of Kirbit, which is located in Halêhasta,—the people who lived therein put their trust in their steep mountains, not fearing (*i.e.*, respecting) the rule of Assyria. Tandai, their chieftain, who had not submitted to the yoke of the kings, my fathers, (and) who kept plundering Iamutbal and laying waste its plains,—on account of these things the people of Dêr came to me and implored (the aid) of my majesty. My officials, the governors, I sent to them. Kirbit they captured, carried away its people. The people of these cities, which my hands had captured, I carried away (deported) and settled them in Egypt.

909. Gyges, king of Lydia, a province on the other side

the sea, a distant region, whose name the kings who went before me, my fathers, had not heard mentioned,—Assur, the god who created me, revealed the honored name of my majesty to him in a dream, saying: "Lay hold of the feet of his highness, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, favorite of Assur, king of the gods, lord of all, and revere (*lit.*, fear) his kingship, implore (the favor) of his lordship. As of one doing homage (*lit.*, service) and paying tribute, let thy prayers come to him."

910. On the (same) day that he saw this dream, he sent his couriers to me to greet me (*lit.*, ask my peace), and the Cimmerians who had been disturbing his land, his hands took alive in battle. Together with his heavy tribute he sent them (*lit.*, had them brought) to Nineveh, my royal city, and kissed my feet.

911. Mugallu, king of ⟨Tabal⟩, who lived in the wearisome mountain ranges, who had sent out arms against the kings, my fathers, declaring (his) hostility,—in the midst of his land terror fell upon him and the fear of my majesty overwhelmed him. Without (letting things come to) a combat of arms, he sent to Nineveh and implored my lordship's (favor). The yearly payment of tribute, (in the form of) large horses, I imposed upon him.

912. Ikkilû, king of Arvad, who dwells in the wide sea, whose abode, like (that) of a fish, is in the unmeasured (*lit.*, uncounted) waters, [in the waves] of the mighty deep, (and) who had betaken himself (*lit.*, gone up) to the frightful sea, not submitting to my yoke and ⌜not imploring(?)⌝ (my lordly grace, now) made his submission as my vassal, and drew my yoke. (The payment of) gold, dark-red wool, black wool, fish and birds, I imposed upon him as yearly (tribute).

913. Through the aid (given me) by the great gods, and by Sin, who dwells in Harran, my lord, the wicked bowed in

submission before my might [and power¹ and kissed my feet. I conquered the lands which were not obedient to my (command). From their heavy spoil, the best,—silver, gold, all kinds of costly things, hosts of enemy (captives), I presented as gifts to the gods of Assyria, (and) to the gods of [Akkad].

914. At that time Ehulhul, the temple of Sin in Harran, which Shalmaneser, son of Assurnasirpal, [a king who lived before my time¹, had built,—[its foundations] gave way, it had become old and its walls ⌜had caved in⌝. I restored(?) its ruins and laid(?) its foundation platform, ... its (stair)-way(?). The whole structure of that temple ⌜I built⌝ to a height of 30 *tipki*. (An addition,) 350(?) (cubits) long, 72 (wide), running to the east, I added to it. 130 (cubits), running from the back of the city, I filled in . . . . . the midst of the center of the city. Of huge (blocks) of stone from the high (*lit.*, mighty) mountains, I laid its foundation walls. Its foundation platform I . . . . . (and) I widened it. Great cedars, which ⌜had grown exceedingly tall(?)⌝ in Mount Lebanon, cypress (logs), whose odor is pleasant, which Adad(?) ⌜had made beautiful(?)⌝ on Mount Sirara, which the kings of the seacoast, my vassals, had felled, ... and had laboriously dragged out of their mountains, a wearisome region, to Harran,—with these I roofed Ehulhul, the abode of gladness, and . . . . . Great door-leaves of cypress I bound with a band of silver and ⌜set them up⌝ in its doors (gates). At the beginning of my reign I completed the building of the whole of this splendid temple.

915. The shrine of Sin, my lord, ⌜I covered⌝ with 70 talents of shining *zahalû*. 2 mighty wild-oxen, of silver, formed altogether. . . . . with 20 talents of *eshmaru* I skilfully formed their limbs (members). To knock down my foes and to trample upon my enemies . . . . . 2 *lahme*[1] of silver,

[1] Cf. Esarhaddon, § 711.

the likeness of that of the sea, ... their . . . . . flagstaff(?) (*shurinnu*) . . . . . talents, I fashioned their forms, I made (them) gigantic . . . . . who brings back the beginning of my life (renews my youth), in the gate of the shrine of the rising sun (*i.e.*, the east), ... With a frieze (*or*, cornice) of *KA*-stone and lapis lazuli (*i.e.*, blue glaze) I surrounded it . . . . . in its totality. According to the workmanship of Nudimmud . . . . . I grasped the hands of [Sin(?)] and caused him to enter amid rejoicing and caused him to take up his abode. Pure sacrifices I offered before him and . . . . . Nusku, my pious deeds . . . . . a favorable sign let him issue, for . . . . . brilliant with the sun . . . . . [to cause to grow old[1] the foundation of my royal throne, ... to cast down my foes . . . . . in health of body (*lit.*, flesh), joy of heart, ...

II. K 1364

Text published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 48.

916. . . . . . I caused to take . . . . . their splendid adornments, I filled . . . . . descendant of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, am I. Trusting in . . . . . Nabû . . . . . whose (*pl.*) ⌜godhead⌝ I invoked, I conquered my foes, I attained to all of my heart's desires. . . . . I cut off the head of Teumman their king in the presence (*lit.*, assembly) of his army. I placed on his throne Ummanigash, son of Urtaku, king of Elam, who had escaped (from Elam) and had laid hold of my feet. Tammaritu, the third brother of Ummanigash, I set up as king in the city of Hidalu.

917. ⌜But Ummanigash⌝, the slave and creature of my hand, [forgot] the kindness (*lit.*, good) [I had shown him] . . . . . before Shamash-shum-ukîn . . . . . He accepted (his) bribes and sent him [aid]. . . . . My armies which ⌜were marching⌝ through Babylonia . . . . . .

[against] their . . . . . they went up and carried off [their spoil(?)]. [Whereupon] —tula, the brother of Ummanigash, revolted against ⌜Ummanigash⌝ . . . . . [him], together with his family . . . . . .

918. (*Rev.*) ⌜Tammaritu⌝, who after Ummanigash sat on the ⌜throne in Elam, did not⌝ send (words) of greeting [to my majesty]. And the prayers which I addressed to Bêl and Nabû, they heard and Indabigash, his servant, revolted against him and accomplished his overthrow.

919. Tammaritu, his brothers, his family, the seed of his father's house, and the nobles ⌜who went at his side], fled before Indabigash, his servant, and seized ⌜my royal⌝ feet. My messenger,—the one whom I had sent to Elam to Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, (in the matter) of Nanâ's return from Susa to Erech, he did not . . . . . For the third time [I marched against Elam] under (the protection) of Nabû, the honored son of the king of the gods, who is clothed in brilliance.

920. Fourteen strong cities, their royal residence cities, together with the small cities which were countless, 12 provinces in Elam, all of it, I conquered, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Their gods, their goddesses, (their) property and goods, people male and female, horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, which were more numerous than grasshoppers, I carried off.

Nanai, Lady of Eanna, ...

III. K 1703

Text published in Winckler, *Sammlung*, III, 76 f.

921. (*Col. IV*) The bows of Tammaritu, ... in Elam . . . . . for battle . . . . . Then, in Assyria, ... were brought near (*or*, engaged in battle) . . . . . Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, ... Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nusku, Nergal,

who . . . . . my enemies, and the rest . . . . . I took(?) Shamash-shum-ukîn . . . . . and the people of Akkad, all of them, ... which I . . . . . with Ummanigash . . . . . Indabigash . . . . . was enraged and Assur . . . . . commanded the destruction of . . . . . That the might of Assur . . . . . and his fear (*i.e.*, fear of him) . . . . . laid upon him ⌜his heavy (great) punishment⌝ . . . . . the people of Akkad who . . . . . eating flesh . . . . . I made precious (scarce). . . . . .

IV. K 2631+K 2653+K 2855

Text published in IIIR, 38, No. 1.

922. To Nergal, the perfect warrior, the most powerful one among the gods, the pre-eminent hero, [the mighty] lord, king of battle, lord of power and might, lord of the storm, who brings [destruction (defeat)]; son of Enlil, the exalted, the powerful one among the gods, his brothers; first-born of Kutushar, the [great] queen, who goes at his kingly side, slaying his foes, bringing low with pestilence ⌜those not submissive to him], and to the prince who fears him, granting power and [might; who dwells], in ⌜E-mes-lam⌝, the shining abode, which is in Kutha; the great lord, my lord:

923. I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), son of Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, king of the universe, [king of Assyria], eternal seed of royalty,—to establish regular offerings, to provide abundantly for the sanctuaries, ⌜I planned]. Assur, Ninlil, and Nergal, the great gods, who made firm the foundation of my royal throne, [commanded me] to avenge the kings, my fathers, upon all my foes. Kudurnanhundi, the Elamite, who ⌜did not fear⌝ the oath (sworn) by the great gods, who in (his) madness [trusted] in his own strength, brought his hand against the sanctuaries of

Akkad and ruined the land of Akkad. . . . . The days were fulfilled, the appointed time drew near. The great gods ⌜saw⌝ (these) deeds. For 1,635 years [they left unavenged] the destruction (wrought by) the Elamite. Me, Assurbanipal, the prince who fears them, they sent to lay waste [Elam] and a weapon which spares not [they put into my hand]. The great gods, in heaven and on earth, ... Shamash, through his trustworthy answer (oracle), commanded . . . . . and Sin, through his decision, which is irrevocable, ... the word of Ishtar, ordering (him) to draw up the battle line, ... I trusted in the word of Assur and Nergal, ⌜who are my support⌝, ... quietness of heart, to the word . . . . . I . . . . . to the word of Ishtar, daughter of Sin, ... which in the time of night . . . . . I mustered the armies of Assyria, made straight for the Elamite, ...

924. In my first campaign, by command of Assur, ... I placed Ummanigash, son of Urtaku, on his throne, ... Ummanigash, whom I had treated well and set up [as king of Elam], (and) Shamash-shum-ukîn, the faithless brother, ... the property of Esagila, Ezida, Emeslam, ... Assur, (and) Enlil, the gods who determine destiny, the god . . . . . into the hands of Tammaritu, son of Ummanigash, his father's brother, ⌜they delivered (*lit.*, counted) him]. Tammaritu, who sat on the Elamite throne after him, (and) who, like that one, ... Assur (and) Nergal, the gods who are my allies, overthrew his rule, ... after him, Indabigash, who like that one, sent a messenger [to me, sat on the throne] . . . . . Assur (and) Nergal, my gods, who meet (*lit.*, answer) (my foes) in my stead,—the fear of (their) arms, and terror, overwhelmed them and upon Indabigash, ... ⌜the anger⌝ of Assur (and) Nergal did not cease (*lit.*, rest), the rage of Ishtar of Assyria, ...

925. [On my second] campaign I gathered together the armies of Assur, who . . . . . [the armies of] Ummanaldasi, I shattered, his hosts I . . . . . I filled with misery . . . . . Nannar . . . . . caused to go out, ... Ishtar the valiant daughter of Sin, her divinity . . . . . (cold?) . . . . . abode . . . . . he came . . . . . the valiant, unsparing, powerful one among the gods, his brothers, who seizes . . . . . [Ishtar of] Arbela, quivers hanging from . . . . . and burning flame . . . . . Adad, the ruler of heaven and earth, [roared] over him, (in) clouds and rain. With the help of the gods, my lords, the destruction of the armies of Ummanigash [I brought about]. Toward the four winds(?) [I defeated him(?)[1]. On that day . . . . . .

926. (*Rev.*) Over Elam they spread mourning. . . . . Even more than before I laid it waste like a flood. The flesh . . . . . In the course of days, I took Susa. The god Shushinak . . . . . the gods of Elam and the goddesses, I brought forth and counted as spoil. The captured people of Elam, great and small, whose numbers were countless, the property and goods of their former kings, together with the bribe money of the lands at whose call (to whose aid) they ⌜had marched forth⌝, ... With the help of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the great gods, my lords, I seized Elam the first year. In the second year I devastated it a second time. The third time, when Ummanigash . . . . . At the word of their mouth, which never changes, the destruction of the Elamite . . . . . the evil of their fathers, ... With the help of Assur, and Nergal, the great gods, my lords, to . . . . . I turned . . . . . Bashimu (and) Banunu, royal cities of Elam, which . . . . . At the command of Assur, Bêl, Nabû, and Nergal, who are my support, ... the hands of Nanâ, Usur-amatsa, Arkâtiu,

I grasped and brought them into, and had them take up their abode in, ⌜Eanna⌝, ... The god Mâr-bîti of the city of Malaku, whom the wicked Elamite . . . . . with the daughter of Sin . . . . . Shamash-shum-ukîn, the faithless brother, whom I treated well and ⌜set up as king⌝ of Akkad, Chaldea, Aramu and Karduniash, who . . . . . the great gods took note of his evil deeds and in (to) . . . . . on him who had made my rule difficult (*lit.*, lamed my rule), I imposed a heavy penalty. . . . . .

927. At that time Emeslam, which a king who lived before me [had built, fell into ruins]. Its ruins I restored, its fallen portions [I rebuilt] . . . . . I made (them) carry the basket. . . . . .

928. In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, in . . . . . with mulberry and . . . . . wood . . . . . from its foundation to its top, ... Great cedar beams . . . . . door-leaves of cypress (*liaru*), whose odor is pleasant, ... Terrible *Zû* images which So-and-So . . . . . guarding my royal step, ... The hands of Nergal, Laz . . . . . I grasped and caused them to enter into Emeslam, their beloved temple, ... When Nergal (and) Laz . . . . . me Assurbanipal . . , ...

(*A few words of the blessing and curse left.*)

V. K 2652

Text published in IIIR, 16, No. 4.

929. . . . . . ⌜Ishtar⌝, the exalted lady, who dwells in ⌜Arbela⌝, ... the eye(?), who subdues . . . . . Assurbanipal, whom for the going forth of . . . . . she gave a righteous scepter, who makes wide . . . . . called by Dilbat, daughter of Enlil, lady of . . . . . whom Ishtar, daughter of Sin, for the subjugation of (his) enemies, ... In the month *Abu*, the month of the appearance of the

bow-star, of the feast of [the honored queen], I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, raised my clean hands to [her exalted divinity]. It was on account of this insolence which Teumman, king of Elam, addressed to me, that I approached the exalted Ishtar, took my stand in her presence, and bowed down, etc.[1]

930. (*Rev., ll. 11 f.*) In the month of *Tashrîtu*, the first day, they met . . . . . they cast the corpse of Teumman, king of Elam . . . . . from Susa, his royal city, to Nineveh, the beloved city of Ishtar, ... For the cities and metropolises, the abodes of the Ishtars (goddesses) which . . . . . At that time I seized that bow in my hands . . . . . Over the beheading of Teumman, king of Elam, ... The might of Ishtar, my lady, I saw and I honored. . . . . That bow, which graces my hands, which . . . . . To Ishtar, conqueror of my foes, ... In the shrine, the abode of Ishtar, lady . . . . . where Ishtar, to make . . . . . With Ishtar, my lady, let . . . . . who(?) that bow, the work . . . . . Ishtar, the exalted among the gods, ... His bow may she shatter and . . . . . .

VI. K 2656

Text published in G. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 f.

931. Ummanaldasi, son of Attametu, took his seat on the throne of Elam. Tammaritu, at the command of Assur and Nergal, besought my majesty that I should grant him justice and come to his aid. I, Assurbanipal, the big- (*lit.*, wide-) hearted, who does not keep a grudge,—with the aid of Assur and Nergal, the gods, my allies, a second time I mustered my armies. Against Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, I ordered the march. I drove out Ummanaldasi, king of Elam; before my weapons he fled. He went up into his mountain. Tammaritu,

[1] Cf. Cylinder B, Col. V, ll. 26–75. Cf. §§ 858 f.

who had fled and laid hold of my feet, I set up as king in Susa. The favor I showed him, in that I sent him aid, he forgot and plotted evil,—the capture of my armies. Assur, king of the gods, (and) Nergal, the exalted lord, who go before me, (and) cause me to stand upon (the neck) of my foes, saw the heart of Tammaritu, the wicked rebel, and delivered (counted) him into my hands. From his royal throne they cast him, brought him (before me) and made him submit at my feet.

932. The third time Assur, the exalted lord, Nergal, the valiant among the gods, (and) Ishum, whose hands are adorned, gave me support and commanded me to march against Elam. Bît-Imbî, etc.[1]

VII. K 2825

Text published in IIIR, 37, No. 5.

933. . . . . His servant revolted against him . . . . . they cut down . . . . . Tammaritu, king of Elam, together with Ummanaldash, Para . . . . . Ummanaldasi, son of Teumman, king of Elam, Ummanamni, son of Ummanpi', son of Urtaku, king of Elam, Ummanamni, grandson of Ummanaldasi, king [of Elam], together with 17 of his family, the seed of his father's house, and 86 nobles, who go at his side, who fled before the weapon of Assur and Ishtar, and to show respect [to the glory of Assur], with Marduk-shar-usur, my official, who . . . . . , they came in their nakedness, crawling on their bellies, and laid hold [of my feet]. . . . . .

VIII. K 2867

Text published in S. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, II, Plate 1.

934. I (am) Assurbanipal, [the great] king . . . . . offspring of the loins of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria . . . . . grandson of Sennacherib, ... Assur, lord of the gods, the

[1] Cf. Rassam, Col. V, ll. 66 f. Cf. §§ 805 f.

foundation of his throne . . . . . Ninlil, mother of the great gods, like the mother . . . . . Sin, Shamash, ⌜sent me oracles], monthly, indicating their undoubted approval (consent) . . . . . Marduk, master of the gods, whose command is unchangeable, granted me a favorable destiny, Nabû, god of all scribal wisdom (*lit.*, scribe of everything), [gave me] a hold on the wisdom which he loves. Ishtar, who dwells in Arbela, the honored one among the gods, [stretched over me] her goodly shadow (protection). Nergal, the all-powerful among the gods, [put into my possession] strength, vigor and unequaled power. From my childhood the great gods, who dwell in heaven and on earth, determined my destiny. Like the father, who begot me, they made me great, and their exalted ways they . . . . . They taught me to wage battle and combat, to muster for the fight, to draw up the battle line . . . . . they made my arms powerful against my foes, who from my youth to my manhood were at enmity with me. They judged in my favor (in my contest) with Urtaku, king of Elam, who, although I did not antagonize him, antagonized me, ... In my stead they brought about his defeat, smote him, drove him away to the ⌜border of his own land⌝. In the same year they destroyed his life through a miserable (evil) death, and gave him over to the "Land of No Return," from which none [comes back]. The heart of the great gods, my lords, was not at rest (appeased), there was no quieting of the angered soul of their majesties. They overthrew his rule (kingship), removed his dynasty and gave the rulership of Elam to another. Ummanigash, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, sons of Urtaku, king of Elam, Kudurru, Parû, sons of Ummanaldasi, the king who ruled before Urtaku, 60 of the kingly seed, countless archers, freemen(?) of Elam, (*Rev.*) fled before the murderous Teumman, their father's brother, and laid hold of my royal feet

935. Since I took my seat upon the throne of the father who begot me, Adad has sent his rains, Ea has opened up his fountains, the forests have been thriving exceedingly, the reeds of the marshes have shot up so high there is no getting through them. The young of the lions grew up (*lit.*, throve) therein, in countless numbers, they . . . . . They became fierce and terrible through their devouring of herds, flocks, and people. With their roaring the hills resound, the beasts of the plain are terrified. They keep bringing down the cattle of the plain, they (keep) shedding the blood of men. As if the plague had broken loose, there were heaped up the corpses of dead men, cattle and [sheep]. The shepherds and herdsmen weep at the lions' . . . . . The villages are in mourning day and night. Of the deeds of these lions they told me. In the course of my march (campaign) into . . . . . their lairs (*lit.*, nests) I broke up and the people, who dwell the cities . . . . . .

IX. K 3062

Text published in IIIR, 36, No. 4.

936. [The statue of Tammaritu], the latter, [who at the command of] Assur [and] Ishtar [from] Elam had fled, had laid hold [of my feet] and performed (a vassal's) service, I took [from] Elam to Assyria.

937. [The statue] of Hallusu, king of Elam, the one who plotted evil against Assyria, and engaged in hostilities against Sennacherib, king of Assyria, my grandfather,—his tongue (*lit.*, mouth) which had been slandering(?), I cut off; his lips which had spoken insolence, I pierced; his hands, which had grasped the bow to fight against Assyria, I chopped off. To proclaim the glory of Assur and Ishtar, the gods, my allies, in the gate . . . . . .

X. K 3065

Text published in IIIR, 36, No. 3.

938. . . . . of Nanâ from the heart (midst) . . . . . To rebuild Ehulhul there called me by name Sin, who had created me for royalty, saying: "Assurbanipal shall make me live for all time to come in the midst of that temple which he has rebuilt." The word of Sin, which in (*lit.*, from) days of old he had proclaimed, he now revealed to the men of a later day. The hands of Sin . . . . . [I grasped]. . . . . .

XI. K 3083

Text published in IIIR, 35, No. 3.

939. Egypt (and) [Kush he conquered and carried off measureless booty]. That land in its ⌜entirety he brought under his sway, and added (turned) to the Assyrian territory (*lit.*, border]. The former names of the cities ⌜he changed and gave them new names]. His servants he set up therein as kings and governors of those cities. His tribute and royal gifts [he imposed upon them yearly]. 55 of the statues of these kings . . . . . the power of his conquering hands . . . . . [he inscribed thereon]. In the cities (and) temples which were in . . . . . After my father died . . . . . Tarkû, without (the consent) of the gods, ...

XII. K 3087

Text published, in transliteration, by Winckler, *Keinsch. Textbuch zum AT*[3], p. 49.

940. [Te'elhunu, priestess(?)[1] of . . . . . [who with Hazael, king] of Arabia, had been angry . . . . [Into the hands of Sennacherib[1], my grandfather, she delivered him and ⌜brought about his overthrow]. She declared she would [no (longer) dwell with the people] of Arabia and betook herself to Assyria. . . . . [Esarhaddon], king of Assyria, my father, favorite of the great gods, [who in the fear of the

gods] and goddesses conquered . . . . . [Assur and Shamash,] on the throne of his father, he took his seat . . . . . ⌜the captive gods of the lands] they(?) restored to their places . . . . . [Hazael, king] of Arabia, with his rich gifts came [before him] and kissed ⌜his feet⌝. He implored him [to return his goddess⌝ and he had mercy on him and . . . . . him. [Telhunu,⌝ her former priestess, ... [concerning Tabûa,⌝ he made inquiry of Shamash . . . . . with his goddess he returned (her) and . . . . . .

XIII. K 3101*a*+K 2664+2628

Text published in IIIR, 35, Nos. 1 and 2; 36, No. 2 (cf. Rm, V, 115–23).

941. (*Beginning with l. 16*) 60 *bêru* of ground in Elam I laid waste; salt and thorn I scattered over them. Nanâ who for 1,535 years had been angry and had gone and had dwelt in Elam,—the return of her divinity she intrusted to me. The word of her divinity which in past days she had spoken, now she revealed to the people of the later days. The hands of Nanâ, Usur-amatsa, Urukâitu, I grasped (*etc. Rest like Rm, VI, 120f.*, §§ *813f.*).

XIV. K 3404

Text published in G. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 246 (cf. Rm, V, 94 ff.).

942. . . . . . Dur-undasi, his royal city, [I captured]. One day, two days, I did not wait. The front of my ⌜army I did not look upon⌝. At that time I crossed the river; 14 cities, etc.

XV. K 3405

Text published, in transliteration, by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 f.

943. To . . . . . [who was angry] with Hazael, king of Arabia, ... and into the hands of Sennacherib, my father, she delivered him and brought about his overthrow. She declared she would not dwell with the people [of

Arabia (any longer) and betook herself to Assyria]. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my father, [favorite of the great gods], who in the fear of the gods and goddesses [conquered] . . . . . Assur and Shamash, on the throne of his father [he took his seat]. . . . . the captive gods of the lands [he restored[1] to their places. Hazael, king of Arabia, with [rich gifts] came before him [and kissed his feet]. He implored him to return his goddess, he had mercy on him. . . . . Telhunu, her former priestess, ... concerning Tabûa he made inquiry of Shamash saying: . . . . . with the goddess he returned (her) and had a *shitirtu*(?) made of ruddy gold, which was adorned with precious stones, which . . . . . For his own life, length of days, the welfare of his descendants, the . . . . . the survival (*lit.*, growing old) of his kingdom, the ⌜overthrow of his foes], ... to(?) the gods of those lands, whose sanctuaries had been trampled down, [I showed favor(?) . .] . . . . . The prayer for the days to come, may they grant (him), and his future (sway) over the black-headed (race of men) [may they order]. I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the gods . . . . . .

(*Rev.*) . . . . . who go at my side, ... they slew my foes . . . . . .

XVI. Rm 281

Text published by Winckler, *Forschungen*, I, 478.

944. While [I was staying] in Egypt and Ethiopia (Kush), ... while not staying in [Assyria], Urtaku, king of Elam, [marched out] to fight with [my armies]. Nergal and Ishum smote him with a mortal wound and . . . . . Urtaku, king of Elam, in the land of the living (*lit.*, life), his feet . . . . . thereafter, Tandamanê, son of the sister (of Tarkû.) . . . . . .

XVII. VAT 5600

945. Text transliterated and translated by Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II, 376 f.

946. (*Col. I*) Thy knowledge, O Assur, lord of the gods, extends from the former to the latter days. When Uaite', son of Hazael, king of Arabia, in the reign of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the slave, the creature of thy hands, became unfriendly and cast off the yoke of his sovereignty, with thy sure (*lit.*, great) support and in thy exalted might, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who begot me, mobilized his armies and sent (them) against him. In open battle he defeated him, and they carried off his gods. Uaite', to save his life, forsook his camp, and, fleeing alone, escaped to distant (parts).

947. After Assur, king of all of heaven and earth, had chosen me, by the lifting of his [gracious] eyes, and had ⌜selected me for the kingship⌝ . . . . . had put into my hands . . . . . Arabia . . . . . had commanded(?), he heard and . . . . . he returned.

(*Remainder of column gone.*)

948 (*Col. II*) In the midst of my land camels were sold for $1\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver (each) in the market place. The *sutammu* received camels and slaves for his gift, the sherbet-vendor(?) (the same) for a cup (of his drink), the gardener (the same) for plants (shoots?) which he had selected(?).

949. The rest of Arabs, who had fled before my arms, the warrior Irra (the pest-god) brought low. Famine broke out among them. To satisfy their hunger they ate the flesh of their children. Every curse, written down in the oath they took, in my name, and that of the gods, thy sons,—instantly didst thou visit upon them an evil fate. The young of camels, asses, cattle and sheep, sucked at seven udders (*lit.*, suckling mothers) and could not satisfy their bellies with the milk.

The people of Arabia asked questions, the one of the other, saying: "Why is it that such evil has befallen Arabia?" (And answered), saying: "Because we have not kept the solemn oaths sworn to Assur."

(*Remainder of column gone.*)

950. (*Col. III*) Natnu was afraid, etc.[1]

Against Natnu . . . . . I was enraged . . . . . a second time . . . . . Later . . . . . .

[1] The badly broken text can be restored from Cylinder C, § 880. After, "yearly gifts I imposed upon him," there was a section mentioning a second expedition against this king.

CHAPTER XI

ASSURBANIPAL; THE BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

951. As has been repeatedly stated, the prisms and tablets on which the so-called annals of the Assyrian kings are inscribed are dedicatory building inscriptions. But we have also a large number of documents in which the historical references, if there are any, are put into very general terms, without any attempt at arrangement by the campaigns or years of the king's reign. Such dedicatory texts, from Assurbanipal's reign, inscribed upon cylinders, steles, tablets, etc., are grouped together in the following paragraphs. They fall into two groups, the first being inscriptions commemorating the installation of Shamash-shum-ukîn as king of Babylon and Assurbanipal's building activities at that capital and its suburb Borsippa, the second being such as commemorated Assurbanipal's work of restoration, etc., of temples in other parts of his empire.

I. THE BABYLON-BORSIPPA DEDICATORY TEXTS

952. The first seven of these texts are inscribed upon clay cylinders preserved in the British Museum in London (L), in Paris (P), and in Berlin, or on steles preserved in the first-named museum.

1. CYLINDER L[1]

Text published by Lehmann, *Shamashshumukin*, Plates XXIII–XXIV, and Strong, *JRAS* (1891), pp. 471 f.

953. Assurbanipal, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), king of kings, unrivaled prince, who, from the Upper to the Lower Sea, holds sway and has brought in submission at his feet all rulers; son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad; grandson of Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, am I.

954. The work on (*lit.*, of) Esagila which my father had not completed, I finished. The fixed offerings of Esagila and the gods of Babylon, I provided for (*lit.*, established). The feudal protection of Babylon I maintained,—that the strong might not injure the weak. Shamash-shum-ukîn, my full brother, I appointed to the kingship of Babylon.

955. At that time, Eturkalamma, the temple of Ishtar of Babylon, I built anew. May Ishtar of Babylon, the exalted lady, look with pleasure upon my pious deeds, and daily, before Bêl and my Lady, speak in my favor (*i.e.*, intercede for me). Eternal life (*lit.*, life of the distant days) may she decree as my destiny. May she establish my dynasty firm as (*lit.*, along with) heaven and earth, and for Shamash-shum-ukîn, king of Babylon, [my full brother], may she lengthen [his days], may she give him abundant posterity.

[Whoever shall blot out my inscribed name and the name of my full brother by] (some) clever trick (*lit.*, work), shall destroy my memorial, or change its location (place), may Ishtar of Babylon, before Bêl and my Lady, speak to his hurt (*lit.*, evil). May she destroy his name and his seed from the lands.

2. CYLINDER L[2]

Text published in VR, Plate 62, No. 1, and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, Plates XXV–XXVI.

956. Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), king of kings, unrivaled prince, who, at the command of the gods, his allies, holds sway from the Upper to the Lower Sea, and has brought in submission at his feet all rulers; son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, who made Babylon habitable (again), rebuilt Esagila, renewed the sanctuaries of all the metropolises, who revived (re-established) in them the an-

cient (*lit.*, fitting) cults and restored their regular offerings which had ceased; grandson of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, am I.

957. During my reign the great lord, Marduk, entered Babylon amid rejoicing, and in Esagila took up his eternal abode. The regular offerings of Esagila and the gods of Babylon, I provided for (*lit.*, established). The feudal protection of Babylon I maintained,—that the strong might not injure the weak. Shamash-shum-ukîn, my full brother, I appointed to the kingship of Babylon. The unfinished work of Esagila, I finished. With silver, gold and precious stones, I adorned Esagila and like colored writing I made Ekua shine. Indeed I repaired the injuries which all sanctuaries (had suffered). Over every city I spread (my) protecting shadow.

958. At that time I gave my attention to the sanctuaries of Ebabbara, which is in Sippar, the temple of Shamash, the great lord, my lord, which had become old, had caved in and had fallen to ruins. With brickwork I built it anew and raised its pinnacles high as the mountains. For (all) time, may Shamash, the great judge of the gods, the great lord, my lord, look upon my pious works with favor, and to me, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the prince who fears him, may he decree a destiny of life eternal, abundance [of posterity], health of body (flesh) and joy of heart. And Shamash-shum-akîn, my full brother,—may his days be long, may he have his fill of happiness.

959. Sometime, in the days to come, may the future prince, in the days of whose reign this work shall fall to ruins, restore its ruins. Let him inscribe my name alongside of his name. Let him look upon my memorial, anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices and set it up beside his memorial. And Shamash will hear his prayer. Whoever blots out, in some clever way, the writing of my name and that of my full brother, does not write my name alongside of his name, de-

stroys my memorial,—may Shamash, the lord of (things) above and below, look upon him in anger, (and) destroy his name and his seed in the lands.

3. CYLINDER P^r

960. This cylinder is now in the De Clerq collection in Paris. The text was published in IIIR, Plate 16, No. 5, and later in Vol. II of *Collection de Clerq*, Plates I–III.

961. Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), king of kings, unrivaled prince, son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, grandson of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, am I.

962. The great lord Marduk, who in the reign of a former king, took up his abode in the presence of the father, his begetter, in Assyria, in the days of my reign entered Babylon amid rejoicing. The regular offerings of Esagila and the gods of Babylon, I provided for. The feudal protection of Babylon I maintained,—that the strong might not injure the weak. Shamash-shum-ukîn, my full brother, I appointed to the kingship of Babylon. The work on Esagila, which my begetter had not completed, I finished. Their (the Babylonians') deserted fields, the chapels and shrines of the other (gods) of Esagila, according to their ancient glories, I restored (*lit.*, put into their places).

(*Blessing and curse.*)

4. CYLINDER L^6

Text published by Lehmann, *op. cit.*, Plates XXX–XXXI, and *CT*, IX, Plates 6–7.

963. To Marduk, king of all the Igigi and Anunnaki, maker of heaven and earth, who establishes (divine) law, who dwells in Esagila, lord of Babylon, the great lord, my

lord: I, Assurbanipal, etc. (*Like* L^2, *but adds after* "restored their regular offerings, which had ceased";) who renewed (*lit.*, returned to their places) the cults of the sanctuaries (making them) as (they were) of old. (*And after* "I made Ekua shine":)

964. At that time Imgur-Bêl, the wall of Babylon, and Nimit-Bêl, its outer wall, which had become old, had caved in, and had fallen to ruins,—to strengthen the protection (*lit.*, guarding) of Esagila and the (other) sanctuaries of Babylon, with the labor (*lit.*, might) of my troops, I built anew Nimit-Bêl, the outer wall, quickly, with brickwork. Its gates I [finished], I made door-leaves and hung them in its gates. May the future prince, etc.

5. E-MAH CYLINDER

965. This cylinder was found *in situ* by the German excavators in 1900, under the pavement of the adyton of the E-mah temple at Borsippa. The text was published by Weissbach, *Babylonische Miszellen*, Plate VII.

966. Assurbanipal, etc. (*Like* L^2.)

At that time E-mah, the temple of Nin-Mah, which is in Babylon, I built anew.

967. For (all) time (to come), may Nin-Mah, the exalted lady, look with favor upon my pious work and daily, before Bêl and my Lady, speak in my favor (intercede for me), etc. (*Like end of* L^1.)

II. OTHER DEDICATORY TEXTS

1. YALE CYLINDER

968. This cylinder evidently came from Warka (Erech). The text was published by Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 42.

969. [To Ishtar] of Erech, ruler of heaven and earth, valiant (queen) of the gods (and) ⌜noble⌝ . . . . . whose terrible . . . . . are . . . . . who marches

at the side of the king who (has gained) her favor, who cuts ⌜down his foes⌝; goddess who directs the (divine) decrees, who orders aright all of his ceremonies, who dwells in Enirgal-Anim, which is in Eanna, the great lady, his lady:

970. Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), king of kings, unrivaled prince, who from the Upper to the Lower Sea has brought under his sway all princes and has made them to submit at his feet; who established the yoke of his rule over Tyre, which is in the midst of the Upper Sea, and Dilmun, which is in the midst of the Lower Sea, and they drew his yoke; whose deeds were acceptable to all of the gods, whose rule was pleasant to the black-headed race (of men), in whose reign Adad made his rains abundant, and Ea (the water) of his springs, in his land, providing his people with plenty and abundance, all of his artisans living luxuriously(?), his settlements . . . . . Son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, who made Babylon habitable (again), rebuilt Esagila, renewed the sanctuaries of all the metropolises, who revived in them the ancient (*lit.*, fitting) cults; grandson of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

971. During my reign, the lord Marduk entered Babylon, amid rejoicing, etc. (*With the exception of a few variants the text reads like* L^2.)

972. May . . . . . look with favor upon his work. And for me, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, may there be upon her lips [a word favorable to me],—life eternal, abundance of posterity, [may she decree as my destiny]. And as for Shamash-shum-ukîn, king of Babylon, my full brother, [may his days be long, may he have his fill of happiness].

973. Whatever future prince it is, in the days of whose

reign this work shall fall ⌜to ruins, let him restore its ruins. Let him write my name] beside his name, let him look upon my memorial, let him anoint it with oil, [let him offer sacrifices, and my memorial⌝ let him place alongside of his memorial. Then Ishtar of Erech will hear his prayers. But whoever blots out [my memorial] or changes its location, does not [set it up] beside ⌜his memorial,⌝ may Ishtar of Erech, the great lady, look upon him in anger, his name and his seed may she destroy from the lands.

2. STELE S^2

974. The stele was found at Babylon and is now in the British Museum. The text was published in *JRAS* (1891), pp. 458 f., and again by Lehmann, *op. cit.*, Plates XIII–XIV.

975. I am Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four regions (of the world), king of kings, unrivaled prince, who at the command of Assur, Shamash and Marduk holds sway from the Upper to the Lower Sea, and has brought in submission at his feet all princes; who adorns Esagila, the temple of the gods, who made its entrance(?) shine like colored writing, and repaired the injuries which all the sanctuaries (had suffered), who spread my (protecting) shadow over every metropolis. Whose deeds were acceptable to all of the gods, whose rule was pleasant to the black-headed (race of men), son of Esarhaddon, etc. (*Like* P^1, *ll. 6 ff.*)

976. At that time, the wall of Ezida, which had become old and whose foundation had become weak, in my reign I restored its ruins, and made it rise mountain high. For (all) time (to come) may Nabû, the exalted lord, look with favor upon my pious works, and for me, Assurbanipal, the prince who fears him, may a word favorable to me be upon his lips, —life eternal, abundance of posterity, health of body and joy of heart, may he decree as my destiny. May he establish

the foundation of my royal throne firm as the mountains, like (*lit.*, along with) heaven and earth make secure my dynasty. And as for Shamash-shum-ukîn, my full brother, king of Babylon, may his days be long, may he have his fill of happiness.

977. Sometime, in the days to come, may the future prince, in the days of whose reign this work shall fall to ruins, restore its ruins, may he look upon my royal image, may he anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, and set it beside his (own) image. (Then) Nabû will hear his prayers. But whoever blots out my written name, destroys my royal image, or changes its location (place), and does not set it up beside his (own) image,—may Nabû, the mighty lord, look upon him in anger, may he overthrow his royal throne, may he make his rule gloomy (*or*, "eclipse" his rule), may he destroy his name and his seed in the lands, and have no mercy upon him.

3. STELE S^3

978. This stele is also in the British Museum. Text was published by Lehmann, *op. cit.*, Plates XVII–XXII.

(*Ll. 1–55*) *identical with* S^2, *ll. 1–32.*)

979. And the work on Esagila which my begetter had not finished, I completed. With great beams of cedar and cypress, the products of Amanus and Lebanon, I roofed it. Door-leaves of boxwood, mulberry, cypress and cedar I made and hung (them) in its gates. Vessels of gold, silver, copper, iron, wood and stone, I made and placed therein.

980. At that time Ekarzaginna, the temple of Ea, which is in Esagila, I built anew. May Ea, king of the deep, look with pleasure upon this work, and for me, Assurbanipal, etc. (*Like* S^2, *ll. 39 ff.*)

4. K 891

981. On a clay tablet (K 891) now in the British Museum, we have a summary of Assurbanipal's pious works in Arbela, Milkia, Tarbisu,

Babylon, and Harran. This summary forms the introduction to an incantation text, given on the reverse of the tablet. The text was published, in part, in IR, Plate 8, No. 2; again in Pinches, *Texts in the Babylonian Wedge Writing*, I, 17 f., and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, Plates XXXII–XXXIII.

982. Arbela, the abode of Ishtar, the house of holidays (feasts) and (?) . . . . which had had no wall, from days of old, [whose outer wall] had not been completed,—its wall I built and I completed its outer wall. [I filled them] with splendor (*i.e.*, made them beautiful). The temple of Ishtar, my lady, I made to shine like the day, with silver, gold and bronze. The flagstaff(?) (*shurinnu*) of the gate of the temple of Ishtar I adorned with silver and gold, and set it up. The city of Milkia (and) Egal-edin, the abode of Ishtar,—its ruins I restored. Its "House of the New Year Feast" I built. The city in its entirety I completely (rebuilt). With sadness and weeping I laid my hands to (the restoration of) that which the foe had destroyed, in joy I finished it.

983. The flagstaff(?) of the temple of Nergal in Tarbisu, which since days of old had ceased to exist, I set up. After I had done this (and) had finished the work, I gave heed to the command of my father, who begot me, (the command) which had not been canceled (*lit.*, loosed). I intrusted to Shamash-shum-ukîn, my full brother, the kingship of Karduniash (Babylonia). Assur-mukîn-palêia, my younger brother, I consecrated ("tonsured") for the *urigallu*-priesthood, before the god . . . . . Assur-etil-shamê-irsitim-ballitsu, my youngest brother, I consecrated for the *urigallu*-priesthood before Sin who dwells in Harran.

984. (*Rev.*) Since (*lit.*, while) I have instituted offerings and the pouring of water for the ghosts of the kings who lived (*lit.*, went) before me, which had fallen into disuse (been neglected), (and) so have done good to god and man, to the dead and the living, why is it that disease, heartache, dis-

tress and destruction are clinging (*lit.*, are bound) to me? Enmity in the land, strife in the house, do not depart (*lit.*, are not separated) from my side. Disturbances, evil words, are continually arrayed against me. Distress of soul (heart), distress of body (flesh) have bowed my form. I spend my days sighing and lamenting (*lit.*, in oh's and ah's). On the day of the god of the city, on the days of the feast, I am distressed (disturbed). Death is making an end of me, is weighing (me) down. In anguish and grief I (sit), lamenting day and night. I sigh: "O God, to the one who fears not, give (these afflictions). Let me see thy light. How long, O God, wilt thou treat me thus (*lit.*, do this to me)? As one not fearing god and goddess I am treated."

5. K 3050+2694

985. On a large tablet in the British Museum, made up of fragments K 3050 and K 2694, we have a long text telling of Assurbanipal's "school-days," his crown-princeship, and the installation of Shamash-shum-ukîn as king of Babylonia. The text is published in Lehmann, *op. cit.*, Plates XXXIV–XXXIX.

986. (*Col. I*) . . . . . [grandson] of Sennacherib, the great king, [the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria]; great-grandson] of Sargon, the great king, [*etc.*], ⌜viceroy⌝ of Babylon, king of ⌜Sumer and Akkad⌝; [for whom Assur], father of the gods, [decreed] a kingly destiny (while he was still) in his mother's womb; ⌜whose⌝ name ⌜Nin-lil⌝, the great mother (of the gods) named for the rulership of land and people . . . . . ⌜whose birth⌝ (creation) the goddess Mah, the image of the pillars of rulership watched over . . . . . the holy(?) . . . . . that I might exercise sovereignty, showed favor . . . . . a favorable oracle, which cannot be changed, they gave me. ⌜Marduk⌝, master of the gods, granted me as a gift a receptive mind (*lit.*, wide ear) and ample (power of) thought. Nabû, the universal scribe, made me a present of his wisdom

(*lit.*, the possession, grasp, of his wisdom). Urta (and) Nergal endowed my body (form) with strength, vigor and unrivaled power. The art (*lit.*, work) of the Master Adapa I learned (*lit.*, acquired),—the hidden treasure of all scribal knowledge, the ⌜signs⌝ of heaven and earth. I was brave, I was exceedingly strong (*i.e.*, industrious), in the assembly of the artisans I received orders(?); and I have studied (*lit.*, struggled with) the heavens with the learned masters of oil divination, I have solved the laborious (problems of) division and multiplication, which were not clear, I have read the artistic script of Sumer (and) the dark (obscure) Akkadian, which is hard to master, (now) taking pleasure in the reading of the stones (*i.e.*, steles) (coming) from before the flood, (now) being angered (because I was) stupid (and) addled(?) by the beautiful script(?). This is what was done all of my days: I mounted my steed, I rode joyfully, I went up to the (hunting) lodge(?).[1] I held the bow, I shot (*lit.*, let fly) the arrow, the sign of my valor. I hurled heavy lances like a javelin. Holding the reins like a driver, I made the wheels go round. I learned to handle the *arîtu* and the *kababu* shields like a heavy-armed bowman(?). I wished to be the great lord(?) of all the craftsmen. At the same time I was learning royal decorum, walking in the kingly ways, I stood before the king, my begetter, giving commands to the nobles. Without my (consent) (*lit.*, without me), no governor was appointed, no prefect was installed in my absence. The father, my begetter, saw for himself the bravery which the great gods decreed as my (portion). At the command of the great gods, he conceived a great love for me among (*lit.*, in the assembly of) my ⌜many(?)⌝ brothers. That I might exercise the kingly rule he besought Assur, king of the gods, lord of all; he implored Ninlil (and) Sherûa, the princess among the goddesses,

[1] The word *shubtu* (*lit.*, dwelling) is frequently used in the account of the hunting expeditions of the Assyrian kings. I have usually translated it as "ambush." See, for example, Vol. I, § 520.

(and) the lady of ladies; he prayed to Shamash (and) Adad, the seer(s) of heaven (and) earth, the judge(s) of the (four) regions (of the world); he addressed his prayers to Nabû (and) Marduk, who give throne and scepter, who establish kingship. . . . . .

987. (*Col. II*) . . . . . the great gods . . . . . he strengthened, he wrote . . . . . In the month of *Aiaru*, the month of Ea, lord of mankind, who ⌜creates all things⌝, I entered into the royal harem (*bît-ridûti*), the place of decision and counsel. At the command of Assur, father of the gods, Marduk, lord of lords, king of the gods, he raised (exalted) me above the (other) king's sons (and) named my name for the kingship. When I entered the palace the whole army (*lit.*, camp) rejoiced, being full(?) of gladness. The nobles were glad (and) the officials, and they attended upon the word of my lips. Before the king, my father, my begetter, I took their part (interceded for them), to ⌜their⌝ advancement (*lit.*, to their good news). The great gods looked with favor upon my pious deeds and, at their exalted command, I took my seat, in gladness, upon the throne of my father. The nobles (and) officials were desirous that I should rule (the land), they favored (*lit.*, loved) my exercising the kingly office. At the proclamation of my honored name, the four regions (of the world) were glad and rejoiced. The kings of the Upper and Lower seas, vassals (slaves) subject to my father, sent me the tidings of (their) joy at my assumption of the kingly office. The hurled (*lit.*, on-coming) weapons of the enemy sank to the ground. The well-organized (enemy) broke their battle line. Their sharp lances came to a stop (*lit.*, rested), they brought their drawn (*lit.*, filled) bows to rest. The wicked, who ⌜were planning⌝ war upon those who were not subject to them, sank down (exhausted). In city and in home, a man took nothing from his neighbor (partner) by force. In the whole land, no gentleman did any evil

(harm). The one traveling by himself, traveled the far(thest) road in safety. There was no thief, (nor) shedder-of-blood. No deed of violence was committed. The lands were quiet (*lit.*, inhabited an abode of rest). The four regions (of the world) were in perfect order, like the finest oil. The Elamite king . . . . . sent their servants (? *or*, messengers?) to greet me. At the command of Marduk . . . . . I had no rival, there was no enemy of mine.

988. In my first year of reign, when Marduk, king of the universe, ⌜put into⌝ my hands the rule ⌜of Assyria⌝, I laid hold of the hem of the garment of his great godhead, I gave my attention to his sanctuaries. I besought my creator in the matter of his godhead's going (back to Babylon). I prayed to his great godhead: "Give thought to Babylon which thou didst destroy in the anger of thy heart. Toward Esagila, the temple of thy lordship, turn thy head (*lit.*, neck), turn thy face. Too long hast thou forsaken thy city, making thine abode in a place not fitting for thee. Thou, lord of the gods, Marduk, give the command for the journey to Shuanna. By thy holy word, which never changes, bring to pass (thy) entrance into Esagila. . . . . ."

989. (*Col. III*) . . . . . *ashipu*-priest(?) . . . . . *kalû*-priests . . . . . *zameru* ("singer")-priests with . . . . . the *bît-ridûti*(?) of rulership, ... Shamash-shum-ukîn, my humble full brother, laying hold of the hands of his deity, marched ⌜at his side]. From the quay of Assur to the quay of Babylon, where they were taking him, lambs were slaughtered, bulls sacrificed (cut down), sweet-smelling (herbs) scattered about, ... all that one could mention was brought (*lit.*, they brought) to the morning and evening meal. . . . . Brushwood was kindled, torches lighted. Every *bêru* ("double-hour's journey"), a beacon was set up. All of my troops kept going round it, like a rainbow, making music day and night. The gods

Bêlit of Akkad, Nanâ, Usur-amatsa, Hanibia (and) Adapa(?) had taken their place (*lit.*, abode) on the river-bank and awaited the king of the gods, the lord of the lords. Nergal, the all-powerful among the gods, went forth from Emeslam, the abode of his lordship, approached the quay of Babylon amid gladness and rejoicing, and drew near in peace. Nabû, the victorious son, took the straight road from Borsippa. Shamash hurried from Sippar to Babylon, leaving behind (the temple) of his radiance (*or*, radiant rising). The gods of Sumer and Akkad, like whimpering puppies(?), deported themselves strangely before him. Among the trees of the rich gardens of Karzaginna, the holy place, ... before the stars of heaven, Ea, Shamash, lord . . . . . of the gods(?), through the work of the master . . . . . he entered and . . . . . took up his abode. [Great(?)[1] bulls, fat sheep, I sacrificed . . . . . the abundance of the *apsu* ("the deep") I brought near to him . . . . . oil I poured out, like a pouring rain . . . . . rich gifts I brought (before him) as presents . . . . . I set *Mahhû*-priests(?) before him. . . . . .

990. (*Col. IV*) At that time I had a stele made with my name inscribed (thereon). The images of the great gods, my lords, I engraved upon it. My royal image, praying to their godhead, I set before them. The glory of Marduk, my lord, my pious deeds, I had (them) write upon it, and gave it over (left it) to the future days. For me . . . . . has decreed destiny . . . . . from E-shar-gid(?), the rest of the gods(?) of . . . . . to me, Assurbanipal he was gracious(?) . . . . . Shamash-shum-ukîn . . . . . *kalû*-priests, *zammeru*-priests . . . . . the ship Kua . . . . he set up.

6. RESTORATION OF THE NABÛ TEMPLE AT NINEVEH

991. On limestone slabs in the British Museum, two of which are on display (Nos. 22,467 and 115,024), there stands an inscription

commemorating Assurbanipal's rebuilding of the temple of Nabû at Nineveh. The text appeared in Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plate 85, and again in S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, I, 112.

992. To Nabû, the exalted lord, who dwells in Ezida, which is in Nineveh, his lord: (I am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the special favorite (*lit.*, the desire and longing) of his great godhead, who, at his given order and stern (*lit.*, heavy, weighty) command, cut off the head of Teumman, king of Elam, in the decisive battle. And (as for) Ummanigash, Tammaritu, Pa'e (and) Ummanaldash, who exercised the sovereignty over Elam after Teumman,—at his mighty word my hand captured them and I yoked them to my coach, my royal vehicle. And through his powerful (*lit.*, great) aid it was that I established my might(?) in every land.

993. At that time I enlarged the court of the temple of Nabû, my lord, paving it with great (slabs) of limestone.

994. For (all) time (to come), O Nabû, look upon (it) with favor. May it be acceptable (*lit.*, received) before thee. By thy trustworthy script, may "life of long days" (life eternal) come from thy lips. May my feet become old walking in Ezida before thy godhead.

7. SLABS FROM THE COURT OF THE NINLIL TEMPLE AT NINEVEH

995. On slabs, evidently from the court of the temple of Ninlil (Bêltis) in Nineveh, now in the British Museum (Nos. 23,577; 23,578; 100,672, on display), we have the dedicatory inscription which follows. The text was published in Layard, *Inscriptions*, Plate 86; IIR, 66, No. 2; S. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, II, Plate II, and *CT*, X, Plate 8.

996. To Ninlil, lady of the lands, who dwells in Emashmash: (I am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the prince who fears her, the viceroy, the creature of her hands, who at her mighty word cut off the head of Teumman, king of Elam, at the onset of battle. And (as for) Ummanigash, Tammaritu, Pa'e (and) Ummanaldash, who exercised the sovereignty

over Elam after Teumman,—by her mighty support, my hands captured them and I yoked them to my coach, my royal vehicle. And at her stern (*lit.*, heavy, weighty) word I went about in all lands, having no rival.

997. At that time I enlarged the court of the temple of Ninlil, my lady, (paving it) with great (slabs) of limestone.

998. For all time (to come), O Ninlil, etc. (*Like preceding text.*)

8. COPY OF A DEDICATORY TEXT FROM ESAGILA

999. The following poorly preserved inscription was a copy of a dedicatory text which was engraved upon the "golden incense altar," erected to Marduk in his temple Esagila of Babylon. The text, on KK 120, *b*+144+3298+3265, was published by Strong, *Journal Asiatique* (9 série), I, 365 f., and by Craig, *Religious Texts*, I, Plates 10–13.

1000. To Marduk, the exalted lord, king of the gods, mighty ruler, (endowed with) tremendous power, first among all lords, the almighty, first in heaven and on earth, champion of the Igigi and the Anunnaki, who bears the weapon, the fearful god, the terrible (leader) of the great gods, ... the exalted, the perfect, lord, ⌜whose bounds⌝ are not (to be) overstepped . . . . . and destroyer of all the evil, who . . . . . who is in charge of the totality of all things, who holds the ⌜mighty rope⌝, who is adorned with terror, who holds the bond of heaven and earth, the wise, the prudent(?), the . . . . . who is crowned with the crown of a rulership of splendor, the sun of the gods, of fiery mien, mightie(est) of the mighty, kind, gracious, compassionate, forgiving, who is rich in (*or*, full of) . . . . . whose wisdom is beyond comprehension (*lit.*, has never been understood); his own . . . . . , who in all . . . . . [lord of springs⌝ (and) fountains, floods and seas; who created the black-headed (race of men), lord of ⌜all(?) creation⌝; the merciful lord, who receives petitions, who hears prayer; . . . . . king of Babylon, lord of Esagila, his divine

abode; who judges righteous judgment, who causes ⌜truth to prevail⌝: I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, lord of . . . . . To restore the cities, to adorn the sanctuaries, which in days long past, in the anger of his heart, he had forsaken, to take vengeance and have satisfaction, the god . . . . . .

1001. At his exalted command I conquered Elam . . . . . By his aid I devastated his land, I laid it waste. Tugdammê, king of the Umman-manda, offspring of Tiamat, image of [the devil], disregarded the ⌜oath by the gods⌝ (by which he agreed) not to do evil against, not to overstep (*lit.*, sin against) the border of my land, and he was not in awe of thy honored name, which the Igigi . . . . . To magnify thy sovereignty and the might of thy godhead, [I overthrew him(?)], according to thy divine message which thou didst send, saying: "I will destroy his power . . . . . " . . . Sandakshatru, the son, offspring of his loins, whom they had put in his place(?) . . . . . I heard and glorified Marduk, the warrior, and to the name of Sarpanit, ... I had an incense altar made, of ruddy gold and *pasallu* . . . . . According to the workmanship of Gushkin-banda, I fashioned (it) artistically, for offering to . . . . . with atonement rites, with the cleansing of . . . . . to offer . . . . . , to make an offering . . . . . (*Rev.*) to greet (*lit.*, answer) continually, morning and evening . . . . .

1002. When *Ninda-Gud* bears that golden incense altar, and Minâ-êkul-bêli . . . . . For all time may Marduk look with favor upon that incense altar, and on me, Assurbanipal, have mercy when I call upon thee, may he receive my petitions, hear my prayers (*lit.*, words), freedom from sickness [grant me]. When that golden incense altar is brought into thy divine presence . . . . . at the bringing (approach) of ——— and ——— . . . . . look . . . . . .

1003. Health of body, joy of heart, gladness of spirit, life eternal (*lit.*, of distant day) . . . . . give (me) a righteous scepter, a firm . . . . . which the peoples . . . . . at thy stern (*lit.*, great) command, all the kings who dwell in palaces, for . . . . . May the land . . . . . may the people thrive . . . . . and grant thou plenty, abundance, riches.

Slay my enemies, cast down my foes ⌜in battle(?)⌝.

1004. May Sarpanit, thy beloved spouse, grant me a life of many days. . . . . May Nabû, the perfect son, thy exalted herald, continually . . . . . May Tashmêtu, bride of Esagila, who dwells in [Ezida(?)] . . . . . .

1005. In a reign of future days, when that golden incense altar . . . . . That golden incense altar let him renew and its workmanship . . . . . The glory of Marduk, my lord, and the inscription of my name [let him write upon it]. Whoever [brings] that golden incense altar out of Esagila, the abode of thy majesty, ... the glory of Marduk, my lord, blots out and erases the inscription of my name. . . . . May Marduk, the great lord, give him evil signs in heaven and on earth . . . . . Sarpanit, the lady of ladies, thy beloved spouse, ...

1006. 50 lines which were upon the golden incense altar of [Marduk] . . . . .

9. COPY OF A DEDICATORY TEXT FROM HARRAN

1007. On the British Museum tablet, Bu. 89,4–26,209, we have a copy of another dedicatory inscription of Assurbanipal, intended for the *tallus* of the temple of Ningal (the western Nikkal), spouse of Sin of Harran. The text is published in Craig, *RT*, II, Plates 1–2.

1008. [To Nin-gal⌝, who makes life pleasant, goddess of glory, mother of the gods, the valiant, the compassionate, the gracious, whose countenance is ⌜pleasant (bright)⌝, ⌜whose mien⌝ is bright as the day; [spouse] of Nannar, the

lord, the splendid ruler, light of the distant heavens; who bore Shamash, who brightens the (four) regions (of earth), whose(?) rule and law enlightens(?) . . . . . ; who makes intercession before the Nannar of the gods, her beloved [Sin]; who gives gracious word(s) of counsel to Shamash, her first-born; who graciously receives words of supplication; who gives commands to the king who fears her; the compassionate princess, who receives petitions, who dwells in the park(?)-temple of Harran, the great lady, his lady: I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the king beloved of Sin and Shamash, the exalted prince, the favorite of Ningal and Nusku, whom they (the gods) have carefully sought out in the steadfastness of their hearts, for all time to come, (and) named for the exercising of kingship—I have caused the son of So-and-So, to make *tallus*, of . . . . . (and) perfect *gissu*-trees(?) which would strengthen their side; the front and base with ruddy gold, of . . . . . weight(?), I covered (bound) (and), like the day, I made their . . . . . shine. To greet (*lit.*, answer) her great godhead as she goes forth from the "House of the New Year's Feast." . . . . . (*Blessing and curse.*)

1009. This is what was (inscribed) upon the *tallus* of Ningal.

10. A COLLECTION OF TEXTS

1010. On a fragmentary tablet in the British Museum (K 2411) stands the following text (published by Craig, *RT*, I, Plates 76–79; corrections, II, Plate X). Only Cols. III and IV of the text are preserved, but it is evident that we have three of a number of distinct inscriptions which had been gathered upon one tablet. The first section is the end of a prayer to Assur and Ninlil which probably followed an account of repairs made in Esharra, their temple; the second contains a de-

scription of the throne of Bêl, which was in the temple of Assur; while the third is a prayer to Marduk, whose temple, Esagila, had been restored.

1011. (*Col. III, ll. 1–15*) To . . . . . the stability of my reign, the expansion . . . . . the foundation of my throne for all time to come . . . . . Assur, king of the gods, the great lord, ... graciously may he open in . . . . . the desire of my heart . . . . . All that he speaks to him, may it be acceptable to him, may it be received before him. May the people of the four regions (of the world) be subject to him and draw the (my?) yoke. May the rich tribute of the towns, the abundance of heaven and earth, be poured yearly into Esharra, the abode of his great godhead. Ninlil, queen of Esharra, spouse of Assur, creator (*fem.*) of the great gods,—may there be on her lips, daily, a word of grace, before Assur, for Sennacherib, king of Assyria . . . . . abundant posterity, length of days, the endurance of his dynasty, [the stability] of his royal throne, may Assur (and) Ninlil proclaim, forever and ever.

1012. (*Col. III, ll. 16–39*) $6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits, by the (ordinary) cubit, was the length of the *amaru*, $3\frac{1}{3}$ cubits, by the royal cubit, was the front, 12 *nalbâte* of gold, was the side of the ⌜*amaru*⌝, 6 (cubits) was its width. The head of the *amaru's* was a ⌜dragon⌝. . . . . the *she'itu* of the *nalbâte* . . . . . *hashur*-wood of the cane-brake, *Ka*-stone, ⌜*samdu*⌝-stone, lapis lazuli, surround (it). The lower *she'itu* is of gold, water flows over (this); in the middle (parts) (there are) female colossi, below female colossi; the claws of the seven female colossi (were) upon the two *gisê* of the side; one of the female colossi (rests) upon . . . . . of the female colossi is surrounded with water . . . . . *gisi-ani*, water flows over (them?).

1013. $1\frac{2}{3}$ cubits, by the royal cubit, was the . . . . . of the [throne]; $3\frac{1}{3}$ cubits, by the royal cubit, was the length

of the ⌜throne⌝; $1\frac{2}{3}$ cubits was its width. Female colossi surround the water; . . . . . four female colossi (were) on the 2 *gisê* of the side; 2 (of the same) in front of the ——— of the throne. $1\frac{2}{3}$ cubits was the length of the *maturru* (a kind of boat), $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit its height; $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit its width; the *kupte* (reaches) to the dragon.

1014. The word (inscription) which was upon the seat (*lit.*, couch) which was on the throne of Bêl, which was in the temple of Assur, had been cut away and destroyed. The name of Assurbanipal was written thereon. The month of *Simânu*, twenty-seventh day, the eponymy of Amiânu, [governor] of Babylon . . . . . .

1015. (*Col. IV*) . . . . . terrible lord, mercy, ... beautifying(?), making brilliant, making splendid, (are) in thy hand . . . . . Esagila, the awe-inspiring seat, the abode of Enlil . . . . . to the king, thy favorite, thou didst give command to renew thy divine work. . . . . .

1016. I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the slave(?) who offers supplication to thee, [son] of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, ⌜who fears⌝ the word of thy great godhead, who gives his thought to thy sanctuaries [and] thy shrines, who carries out thy commands (cult), who quiets thy spirit, ... Esagila I completed. A duplicate of the *apsû* ("sea"), the palace of thy majesty, ... I adorned with silver and gold (and) made it shine like the day, ... The team of the great chariot of the king of the gods, the vehicle of the lord of lords, ... mulberry and *sidarû*-wood, the beautiful couch . . . . . adorned with precious stones, ... surrounding . . . . . .

1017. Marduk and Sarpanit . . . . . firmly established. [For the life of my soul⌝ (and) length of days, I gave (it) as a gift . . . . . may they place, may

they enter . . . . . , my . . . . . may both of the gods speak to one another. By the command (utterance) of their holy lips (*lit.*, mouths), which is not changed, may they bless my kingship. May they cause me to attain to the desires of my heart,—for I have given my thought to their sanctuaries. May they overthrow my foes,—for I have accomplished the desire of their hearts.

1018. Whoever blots out my inscribed name, and writes his own name, blots out and destroys the remembrance of the king who gives his thought to the sanctuaries of Marduk and Sarpanit . . . . . by any sort of a clever trick (work), may Marduk, king of the gods, make his heart's desire gloomy, may he destroy his seed. May Sarpanit in the . . . . . of Ehammuti call down evil upon him (*lit.*, proclaim his evil).

11. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION FROM NIPPUR

1019. Hilprecht, *Exploration in Bible Lands*, pp. 461–62, gives a photograph of a cylinder from which the following passage is quoted:

Egigunû, the *ziggurrat* of Nippur, the foundation of which is placed in the breast of the ocean, the walls of which had grown old, and which had fallen into decay,—I built that house with baked bricks and bitumen, and completed its construction. With the art of the god of bricks I restored it and made it bright as the day. I raised its head like a mountain and caused its splendor to shine.

CHAPTER XII

ASSURBANIPAL; THE MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

I. ON HUNTING RELIEFS

1020. Like the legendary Nimrod and many of his historical predecessors on the Assyrian throne, Assurbanipal was a "mighty hunter before the lord." Lions infested the thickets along the Euphrates from the days of Hammurabi to modern times. In Assurbanipal's day they increased so rapidly that they became a plague on the countryside, devouring not only the flocks and herds, but the people as well. This visitation was due not as in Samaria, to the fact that the people knew not "the law of the god of the land," but to the abundant rains with which Adad blessed the reign of Assurbanipal (cf. K 2867, § 935). The following epigraphs, published in IR, 7, No. IX*a–e*, and Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke* (4th ed.), p. 74, stand on the famous hunting reliefs of Assurbanipal, preserved in the British Museum.

1021. 1. The king is pouring out a libation over four lions he has slain.

I am Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, whom Assur and Ninlil have endowed with surpassing might. The lions which I slew,—the terrible bow of Ishtar, lady of battle, I aimed upon them. I brought an offering, I poured out wine over them.

1022. 2. The king is seizing a lion by the ear and piercing his body with his lance.

I am Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria. In my might (*or*, for my pleasure), on foot I seized a fierce lion of the plain by his ears. With the aid of Assur and Ishtar, lady of battle, I pierced his body with my lance (*lit.*, the lance of my hands).

1023. 3. The king has seized a lion by the tail and is dispatching him with a club.

I, Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, in my lordly sport I seized a lion of the plain by his tail and at the command of Urta, Nergal, the gods, my allies, I smashed his skull with the club of my hand.

1024. 4. The king is finishing a lion with his dagger.

I, Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, in my lordly sport, they let a fierce lion of the plain out of his cage and on foot, with my spear(?) -shaft, I . . . . . his . . . . . , but did not end his life. At the command of Nergal, king of the plain, who granted me strength (and) valor (*lit.*, manliness), I stabbed him later with my iron girdle dagger and he died (*lit.*, laid down his life).

1025. 5. The king's soldiers are killing lions with their spears.

I (am) Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, for whom Assur, king of the gods (and) Ishtar, lady of battle, have decreed a life (*lit.*, destiny) of heroism. . . . . Nergal, who goes before, caused me to undertake every(?) (form) of hunting on the plain, and according to my strength (*or*, pleasure), I . . . . . I went forth. In an open space in the plain, fierce lions, dreadful creatures (*lit.*, children) of the mountains, came out. They surrounded the chariot, my royal vehicle. At the command of Assur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, ... my yoke . . . . . I shattered the might of those lions, ...

1026. Urtaku, king of Elam, who had fled and laid hold of my feet . . . . . a lion made for him and . . . . . he was scared and implored my majesty (for aid).

II. EPIGRAPHS ON HISTORICAL RELIEFS

1027. Assurbanipal's reliefs, portraying the overthrow of his "faithless" brother Shamash-shum-ukîn and his Elamite allies, are accompanied by a number of descriptive epigraphs. These were published in IR, 8, No. 1, and IIIR, 37, Nos. 1–7. For photographs of the sculptures see Paterson, *Palace of Sennacherib*, Plates 62–66.

1028. 1. Teumman, (who), in the collapse of his reason, said to his son, "Shoot (me with) the bow."

1029. 2. Teumman, king of Elam, who was wounded in the great battle, (and) Tammaritu, his oldest son, who held him by the hand, fled to save their lives (and) hid themselves in the woods. With the aid of Assur and Ishtar I slew them and cut off their heads, one in front of the other.

1030. 3. The head of Teumman, king of Elam, which a camp-follower(?) of my army ⌜had cut off⌝ in the midst of the battle, they are bringing in haste to Assyria, to announce the ⌜glad news⌝ (of victory).

1031. 4. Urtaku, the son-in-law of Teumman, who was wounded by an arrow, but did not die (*lit.*, end his life), called an Assyrian for his own beheading, saying: "Come, cut off my head, take it before the king, your lord, and let them have mercy."

1032. 5. Itunî, the officer of Teumman, king of Elam, whom he had insolently sent to me, saw the terrible battle and with his iron girdle dagger, he cut, with his own hands, the bow which adorned his side.

1033. 6. ⌜Ummanigash, the fugitive⌝, who had laid hold of my feet, at my word, brought my official, whom I had dispatched, into Madaktu and Susa, amid rejoicing, and seated him on the throne of Teumman whom my hands had captured.

1034. 7. (*Space left for two names*), who had spoken many vulgar things (*lit.*, great vulgarity) about Assur, the god, my creator,—I tore out their tongues and flayed them (stripped off their skin).

1035. 8. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, who, with the aid of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, have conquered my foes and have attained to all (the desires) of my heart: Rusâ, king of Urartu, heard of the might of Assur, my lord, and the fear of my majesty overwhelmed

him. He sent his nobles to greet me, at Arbela. Nabû-damik, Umbadarâ, nobles of Elam, with the tablets (containing) the insolent message, I set before them.

1036. 9. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, who, at the command of the great gods, has attained to his heart's desires. Garments (and) equipment, the royal paraphernalia of Shamash-shum-ukîn, the faithless brother, his concubines, his officer(s), his fighters, his chariots, the coach, his royal vehicle, his horses, broken to the yoke, all sorts of palace furniture (*lit.*, needed *or*, desired, things of his palace), all there was, his people, male and female, great and small, they passed in review before me.

1037. 10. Hamanu, the royal city of Elam, I besieged, I captured, its spoil I carried off, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (it) with fire.

1038. 11. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, who at the [command of Assur and] Ninlil, has attained to his heart's desires. Din-[sharri] a city of Elam, I besieged, I captured. [Chariots], wagons, horses, mules, I brought out of it and counted as spoil.

III. EPIGRAPHS INTENDED FOR SCULPTURES

1039. Of the apparently endless number of epigraphs which Assurbanipal had his scribes prepare for the reliefs actually carved or in prospect, the British Museum possesses many examples. Translations of the more important of the texts that have been published are here given.

1. K 2637, published in IIIR, 37, No. 2; G. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 148; and *CT*, XXXV, Plate 36:

. . . . . upon them . . . . . .

1040. [Dunanu[1], son of Bêl-ikîsha, I captured alive with my (own) hands. My warriors threw him into fetters and brought him in haste to Nineveh, into my presence.

1041. [I] (am) Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria. [After] I had offered sacrifices to Sheri (Kurri),

the god (goddess?), [had celebrated the feast[1] of the *bît-akît* ("House of the New Year's Feast"), [had laid hold of the reins[1] of Ishtar, [surrounded by Dunanu], Samgunu and Aplâ [and the decapitated head of Teumman[1], king of Elam, [whom Ishtar had given into my hand], I made the entrance into Arbela amid rejoicing.

2. From 80-7-19,103 (*Rev.*), published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 33:

1042. Against Sha-pî-Bêl, the fortified city of the Gambulai, I threw up a ramp (bridge) and Dananu, son of Bêl-ikîsha, —the splendor of my royalty overwhelmed him and he broke his bow . . . . . his nobles, with fervent entreaty, [came] before my messenger and kissed my feet.

[Dunanu, son of] Bêl-ikîsha, I seized alive with my own hands. [Into bonds and fetters[1] of iron they cast him and hurried him into my presence.

3. Sm 1350, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 31:

1043. ⌜Before⌝ the head of Teumman, king of Elam, whom the lady Ishtar had delivered into my hands, I made the entrance into the city of Arbela amid rejoicing.

1044. Dunanu, Samgunu and Aplâ,—at the gates of the east and west, to be gaped at by the people, I tied them up along with the jackals(?).

1045. With the decapitated head of Teumman, king of Elam, I took the road to Arbela amid rejoicing.

1046. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. The nobles of Ursa, king of Urartu (Armenia), whom he had sent to greet me,—Nabû-damik, Umbadarâ, nobles of Elam . . . . . of the insolent message, I set before them. Before them (also) Mannu-ki-ahê, the second son of Dunanu, Nabû-usalli, the man over his city,—their tongues I tore out, I flayed them.

4. From the obverse of 80-7-19,102, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 132:

1047. I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, displayed publicly the head of Teumman, king of Elam, in front of the gate inside the city, where from of old it had been said by the oracle: "The head of thy foes thou shalt cut off."

5. K 2674, published in IIIR, 37, No. 1; S. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, III, Plates I–II; *CT*, XXXV, Plates 9–12:

1048. The armies of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, which with Ummanigash, son of Urtaku, king of Elam, the fugitive who laid hold of my royal feet, I sent out for the conquest of Elam.

1049. Simburu, the *nâgiru* (official) of Elam, heard of the advance of my armies and became afraid at the mention of my name. He came before my messenger (ambassador) and kissed my feet.

1050. Umbakidinni, the *nâgiru* of Hidalu, who is carrying the head Ishtarnandi, king of Hidalu. Zinêni, the *sha-pân-mâti*[1]-official, of the full hand(?), is depicted in the lower register (row). The might of Assur, my lord, (and) the fear of my majesty overwhelmed them. The heads of the nobles of Elam, who were not submissive to me, they have cut off and thrown in front of my nobles. They laid hold of my royal feet.

1051. The battle line which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (*text*, Elam), drew up against Teumman, king of Elam, and (with which) he brought about the overthrow of Elam.

1052. Teumman, king of Elam, saw the overthrow of his armies, fled to save his life, and (is seen) tearing his beard.

1053. (*Space for name; supply* Tammaritu), son of Teumman, king of Elam, who escaped from the slaughter (*lit.*, defeat), tore his garment, and (is seen) calling to the father who begot him: "Come, do not hold back."

1054. Teumman, king of Elam, who was wounded in the

[1] "Who is before the land."

great battle, fled to save his life and hid in the woods, wherein(?) his royal vehicle has broken down and turned over upon him.

1055. . . . . of the wagon . . . . . him and . . . . . seized his hand.

1056. (*Col. II*) Wine thou shalt pour ⌜over them⌝, who . . . . . now . . . . . of Adad in front(?) of me . . . . . the heads of my foes, I cut off, wine I poured upon them.

1057. (*Space for name; supply* Urtaku) who was wounded by an arrow but did not die (end his life), (is seen) calling to the Assyrians to behead him (*lit.*, for his own beheading), saying: "Come, cut off my head, take it before the king, thy lord, and let them have mercy."

1058. Itunî, the official of So-and-So (*followed by blank space for name*), king of Elam, whom he had insolently sent into my presence, saw the great battle and with the iron dagger of his girdle his own hands cut the bow carried at his side.

1059. Ummanigash, the fugitive, the vassal (servant) who laid hold of my feet, at my word, brought my official, whom I had dispatched, into Susa and Madaktu amid rejoicing and seated him on the throne of Teumman, whom my hands had captured.

1060. My armies, which had marched in the campaign against Elam, (and) had not yet recuperated (rested) from their exertions,—toward Sha-pî-bêl, against Dunanu, I turned them. Over against that city they pitched the camp, blockaded (it) and barred egress from it (*lit.*, seized its egress).

1061. Dananu, son of ⌜Bêl-ikîsha⌝, the Gambulean,—terror overcame him and he forsook his city. He came forth, into the presence of my ambassador, and kissed my feet.

1062. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. In Milkia I offered ⌜splendid⌝ (*or*, multitudes of) sacrifices, I kept the

feast of the god Kurri. At that time Dunanu, bound hand and foot with iron fetters, they brought before me.

1063. . . . . . they(?) kept safe. Dunanu, son of Bêl-ikîsha, ... like . . . . . I overthrew him and . . . . . over him.

1064. Dunanu, son of Bêl-ikîsha, the Gambulean, bound hand and foot, to the city of ⌜Nineveh⌝ [they brought] into my presence.

1065. (*Rev. Col. I*) . . . . . [who had spoken many vulgar things about] Assur, the god, my creator,—I tore out his tongue and ⌜flayed him⌝.

1066. [Dunanu⌝ son of [Bêl-ikîsha⌝, the Gambulean, who had made my (exercise of) sovereignty difficult, ... I slaughtered him, I dismembered him.

1067. Ummanigash, son of Urtaku, king of Elam, who had laid hold of my royal feet,—my forces I sent with him at his request.

1068. The battle line of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, which overthrew Elam.

1069. The battle line of Teumman, king of Elam.

1070. Overthrow of the armies of Teumman, king of Elam, which Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, accomplished in Til-tûbu, heaping up countless corpses of his warriors.

1071. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. After I had offered sacrifices to the god Kurri, had celebrated the feast of the *bît-akît* ("House of the New Year's Feast"), had laid hold of the reins of Ishtar, surrounded by Dunanu, Sam-gunu (and) Aplâ, and the decapitated head of Teumman, king of Elam, whom Ishtar had given into my hand, I made the entrance into Arbela amid rejoicing.

1072. With the bodies of the warriors (and) people of Elam I dammed up the Ulai River. For three days I made that stream carry down, to its limit (*lit.*, power), their bodies instead of water.

1073. [I (am) Assurbanipal⌉, king of Assyria, who with the aid of Assur, my lord, conquered my foes and ⌈attained⌉ to all [my] heart's (desires).

1074. (*Col. II*) Copy of the tablet: Of those who fought before the king.

6. K 3096, published in IIIR, 36, No. 5 (*Rev.*); *CT*, 35, Plate 21 (K 2642, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 22, duplicate):

1075. [Trusting in the support] of Assur and . . . . . ⌈Tammaritu⌉, king of Elam, image of the devil . . . . . [. . with Shamash-shum-ukîn], the hostile brother, he(?) advanced . . . . . at the command of Assur and Ishtar, the gods, my helpers . . . . . against him (he) revolted and . . . . . his family, the seed of his father's house, and the nobles who go [at his side] . . . . . they crawled on their bellies and ⌈laid hold of my feet] . . . . . before me, they glorified the might of my great gods, [who go at my side] . . . . . .

1076. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, with the help of Assur and Ishtar, not [approving of(?)] the high summit(?) of the palace, (built as) worthy of the royalty of Shamash-shum-ukîn, ... the chariot, his lordly vehicle. The soldiers, who had started a revolt (and an) uprising, their relatives . . . . . scattered themselves(?) over the land (*lit.*, ground), before me. The rest of the ⌈rebels(?)⌉ . . . . . their relatives, as a spectacle for the people, on ⌈camels⌉ I caused to sit and brought them into Nineveh amid rejoicing.

1077. The Haialeans, whom Shamash-shum-ukîn . . . . . to plunder(?) the plain, with the help of Assur and Ishtar [my hands captured⌉.

1078. The people of Borsippa, who had started a revolt (and) an uprising, who had come to an agreement with [Shamash-shum-ukîn], with the help of Assur and Ishtar [my hands captured].

1079. [The Babylonians(?)], who had started a revolt (and) an uprising, who [had come to an agreement with Shamash-shum-ukîn, do.]

1080. The [officials?] of Shamash-shum-ukîn, who had started a revolt and an uprising, ... [I cut them down(?)].

1081. (*Rev.*) [I] (am) [Assurbanipal, king of Assyria], ... with the aid of Assur and Ishtar. . . . . .

1082. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, who at the command of the great gods, [his lords], attained to all the desires of his heart. With Ammuladi, [king of Kadri], ... into Nineveh, my royal city, joyfully [I entered].

1083. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. Adiâ, queen of Arabia, with the plunder, which at the command of Assur and Ishtar, my armies captured. . . . . .

1084. Adiâ, queen of Arabia,—I [made a great slaughter of her people]. Her tent I burned with fire, herself [I captured alive].

1085. That which is carved on the walls of the house . . . . . .

7. K 4457, published in IIIR, 37; *CT*, XXXV, 24 f.:

1086. [Ummanaldasu], brother of Tammaritu, king of [Elam]; Uttedi, the chief of [archers]; Teumman, the chief of archers of Bît-Hallâ—.

1087. Tammaritu, king of Elam, who at the request of Shamash-shum-ukîn . . . . . and came to battle with my armies. I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, approached Assur and Ishtar (in prayer) and they heard my petitions. Indabigash, his servant, revolted against him and in open battle defeated him. The people of Tammaritu fled from the battle-(field) and told him of the defeat of his armies. He fled by the sea-road. After him Indabigash, his servant, sat on his throne.

1088. The ship of Tammaritu, king of Elam, his brothers,

his family, the seed of his father's house, the nobles [who go] at his side, which had run aground (*lit.*, seized) in the mud and mire. Siku—di, ... he carried Tammaritu on his back from that ship to a boat(?), ⌜breaking through(?)⌝ the bad (places) of the difficult ground . . . . . brought him into ———, on account of their hunger. . . . . .

1089. (*Rev.*) Tammaritu, king of Elam, who . . . . . before Indabigash, sailed in the Bitter Sea and came to grief (*lit.*, saw evil). I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, had conveyed to him my royal ultimatum(?). That ultimatum(?) he received, and before my official he kissed the ground.

1090. The battle line of Ummanigash, who did not remember (*lit.*, guard) the good which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, (did to him) when he established him as king in Elam. Tammaritu, who fought with him, brought about his defeat and shattered his forces.

1091. The severed head of Ummanigash, king of Elam . . . . . me . . . . . deserted me, and [at the call⌝ of Shamash-shum-ukîn, my arch-enemy, went forth, which (head) Tammaritu cut off in the midst of the fight . . . . . my official, who(m) Ummanigash . . . . . Madaktu . . . . .

8. Rm 40, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plates 17–18:

1092. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, who at the command of the great gods has attained the desires of his heart. The clothing, royal equipment of every sort, belonging to Shamash-shum-ukîn, the faithless brother, his harem, his officials, the fighting men, his chariots, the coach of his royal riding, his horse, broken to the yoke, all kinds of fine furnishings of his palace, all there were, people, male and female, great and small, I have caused to come before thee(?).

1093. Nabû-shallimshunu, the charioteer (*lit.*, who holds the reins), Mannuki-Babili, son of Nabû-shallimshunu. The sons of Ea-zêr-ikîsha, of Bît-Amukkani.

1094. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, at the command of Assur and Ninlil, the great gods, the kings dwelling in palaces bowed in submission to my yoke.

1095. The bows which Tammaritu, king of Elam, in their midst made strong for battle with my warriors . . . . . in the might of Assur and Ishtar, the gods my helpers, those bows, I . . . . . in the month *Nisânu* together with . . . . . .

(*Rev. contains an incantation text.*)

9. Sm 1350, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 31:

1096. The battle line of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, which brought about the defeat of Elam.

1097. The battle line of Teumman, king of Elam.

1098. The head of Teumman, king of Elam.

1099. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, conqueror of his foes. The head of Teumman, king of Elam, which by the power of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal, the soldiers of my army cut off and brought quickly and in front of the gate *Lilbur-ishshakku-Assur* ("May Assur's Ruler Grow Old") they cast it down in front of my (chariot)-wheels.

10. K 2647+Rm, 2,99, published, in *CT*, XXXV, Plates 13–15:

1100. (*Rev.*) By my great support wherewith I have encouraged the . . . . . which are like unto thee . . . . . because of those evil deeds which he, ... (and) did against thee, I have torn up the foundation of his kingly throne, his dynasty I have destroyed, the overthrow of Akkad I have brought about.

1101. The complete restoration of the sanctuaries of the great gods, the . . . . . of . . . . . , the offering of sacrifices, the fear of my godhead, a gracious reign, ... I have decreed as thy destiny. (But) Shamash-shum-ukîn, who did

not keep his oath sworn to me, who sinned against the favor shown him by Assurbanipal, the king, beloved of my heart, I have blockaded him with a mighty blockade, I have pressed him to the life . . . . . on his nobles I have placed chains (*lit.*, cords, ropes), and have caused them to submit at thy feet.

1102. For inviting kings (to aid), for overthrowing enemies, for making . . . . . for a just rule of the subjects of Enlil . . . . . .

1103. For . . . . . his life and overthrowing Akkad, the word . . . . . Shamash-shum-ukîn, the curses of my majesty, with which I cursed him . . . . . the kindly . . . . . of saving his life he did not . . . . . .

1104. . . . . the gods, all of them, he gathered together and . . . . . committed an evil deed which . . . . . carrying off(?) the property of the gods, ... his destiny for evil. Because of the evil deeds which he did to my house, his gods have been angry with him, they have left him, they have sought other (lands).

1105. At the command of my great godhead, thou hast captured his cities, thou hast carried off their rich spoil to Assyria.

1106. With my strong support thou hast brought about the defeat of his warriors, those who were left, I seized (them) alive with my hand. In Nineveh, thy royal city, thou hast slain them with the sword. With my terrible weapons, for the conquest of thy enemies I have rushed before thee.

1107. At the mention of thy name which I have made great, thy armies have marched victoriously from the field of battle (*lit.*, conflict of arms).

1108. In (response to) the prayers of thy supplication, wherein thou didst . . . . . and didst magnify the greatness of my godhead, I have stood by thy side and have over-

thrown thy foes . . . . . the Assyrians, ... him and . . . . . his royalty.

11. K 4453 and K 4815, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 28:

1109. . . . . . their hearts, I tore out . . . . . ⌜their lips] I cut off . . . . . [their tongues] I tore out, [their] flesh I fed to the ⌜vultures⌝.

12. Rm 2, 120, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 23:

1110. I (am) Assurbanipal, etc., with . . . . . which my hands had conquered, for the [restoration(?) of] . . . . . my royal city, which . . . . . Eimkurra (*or*, the eastern house) . . . . . its walls . . . . . .

(*On Rev., ll. 2–8.*)

1111. . . . . . who had rebelled, my hands captured . . . . . and that the might of Assur and Ninlil [might be made manifest] on camels I placed them and . . . . . they howled with the Assyrians who make music before me.

1112. I (am) Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. Ammu-ladi, king of Kadri, who with the help of Assur and Ishtar my hands captured, (and) whom I caused to march [before me].

13. K 7596, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 22:

1113. . . . . . 16,000 bows . . . . . of the enemy, heavy . . . . . To avenge . . . . . Assur sent forth. Assurbanipal . . . . . mighty . . . . . his(?) hand . . . . . .

1114. One noble(?) of Tammaritu . . . . . implored my lordship, saying: "a . . . . . king . . . . . ."

1115. The rest, who did not submit to my yoke, ... I brought in, I caused to sit on the throne of Elam. At the mention [of my name.] . . . . . from the Upper to the Lower Sea . . . . . a march of 20 months by sea and on dry land . . . . . the people who inhabited those lands, ⌜I brought in submission to my feet]. With the aid of

Assur and Ishtar, the gods who help me, ... the great princes, despising(?). . . . . .

1116. . . . . . in Ehulhul which (I?) built anew and . . . . . the shrine of Sin, my lord, I inclosed (*lit.*, clothed) and caused (its) foot to shine like the day . . . . . which from days of old . . . . . .

14. K 6049, published in *CT*, XXXV, Plate 18:

1117. . . . . . [Tammaritu . . . . . Parû], son of ⌜Ummanaldasi⌝ . . . . . without number, the soldiers of . . . . . ⌜Teumman,⌝ king of Elam, the brother of his father . . . . . .[Tandamanê,⌝ son of the sister of Tarkû, king of . . . . . .

IV. BRICK INSCRIPTIONS

1. (Babylon.) British Museum, No. 90,285:

1118. For Marduk, [his] lord, Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, has caused bricks to be made anew for Etemenanki.

2. (Babylon.) Koldewey, *Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, p. 72, n. 10 (transliteration only):

1119. For Marduk, his lord, Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, for the life of his soul, has caused bricks to be formed anew for Esagila.

3. (Nippur.) *BE*, No. 8072:

1120. For Marduk, his lord, the king of the universe, king of Assyria, for the life of his sons, he has caused bricks to be made anew for Esagila (and) Etemananki.

4. (Nippur.) *Hebraica*, VI, 55–58; Hilprecht, *BE*, I, 1, No. 82, Plate 29:

1121. For Enlil, lord of the lands, his lord, Assurbanipal, the obedient ruler (shepherd), the powerful king, king of the four regions (of the world), has rebuilt the brick(work) of Ekur, his beloved temple.

V. DIALOGUE BETWEEN ASSURBANIPAL AND NABÛ

1122. This text, K 1285, was published in *Transactions IX International Congress of Orientalists*, II, 199–203, and *Hebraica*, X, 86–87 = Craig, *Religious Texts*, I, Plates V–VI.

1123. [I proclaim thy glory[1], O Nabû, in the assembly of the great gods. May my life not be threatened [by my host of enemies[1]. [In the . . . . .] of Nineveh, I approach thee (in prayer), (thou) valiant one (among) the gods, thy (*text*, his) brothers, ... of Assurbanipal, forever and ever I am lying down at the feet of Nabû. [Do not forsake me], O Nabû, to the hosts (*lit.*, assembly) of my enemies.

1124. I . . . . . thee, Assurbanipal, I, Nabû, to the end of time (days). Thy feet shall not stumble, nor shall thy hands be lamed. These lips of thine shall not grow weary supplicating me. Thy tongue shall not be whispering(?) with thy lips as to what good thing (*lit.*, word) I shall give thee. Thou shalt lift thy head, thou shalt enter boldly (*lit.*, make thy form walk in stately manner) into the temple of Emashmash.

1125. Nabû has spoken, saying: "Thy mouth is speaking (*lit.*, a speaker of) what is good when it brings its petition to the goddess Urkittu. For thy form, which I have made, it implores me, to let it(?) rest in Emashmash. For thy ———, which I have made, it implores me, saying: 'Bring cultivated (plants) into the house of Bêlit-mâti.' For thy spirit it implores me, saying: 'The life of Assurbanipal lengthen.' "

1126. Kneeling upon his knees, Assurbanipal makes supplication to Nabû, his lord: "I give myself to thee, Nabû, do not forsake me. My life is inscribed before thee, my soul is kept (secure) in the bosom of Ninlil. I give myself to thee, O mighty Nabû, do not forsake me, me, in the midst of my enemies."

1127. A *zakiku*-(priest) answered from before Nabû, his lord: "Do not fear, Assurbanipal. Long life give I thee.

Good (favorable) winds (tablets?) I am dispatching with thy soul. My mouth, speaking what is good, will bless thee in the assembly of the great gods."

1128. (*Rev.*) Assurbanipal opened his hands, supplicating Nabû, his lord. "He who takes (his place) at the feet of the Queen of Nineveh will ⌜not⌝ be despised in the assembly of the great gods. He who is bound by (*or*, to?) the *kannu* of Urkittu will not be despised in the assembly of his enemies. In the assembly of my enemies do not leave me, O Nabû, in the assembly of my adversaries do not leave my soul."

1129. "Small (a youth) were you, Assurbanipal, when I left you to the Queen of Nineveh. Weak were you, Assurbanipal, when you sat on the lap of the Queen of Nineveh. Four were the nipples that were placed in thy mouth; two didst thou suck, in two thou didst hide thy face. Thy enemies, Assurbanipal, have fled like *sipu* in front of the waters, like *burbillâte* of the springtime . . . . they . . . . before thy feet, as thou dost stand, O Assurbanipal, before the great gods, glorifying Nabû."

CHAPTER XIII

ASSURBANIPAL'S SUCCESSORS

I. ASSUR-ETIL-ILÂNI

1130. From this reign of some four years (626–621) we have only a few historical inscriptions. On bricks from the temple of Nabû at Calah, preserved in the British Museum, we find the following text (published in IR, 8, No. 3, and elsewhere):

1131. 1. I am Assur-etil-ilâni, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria. I caused bricks to be made for the (re)building of Ezida, which is in Kalhu (Calah) and presented (them) for the life of my soul.

1132. A small clay cylinder in the Yale collection has an interesting text (published in Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 43).

1133. 2. The sarcophagus of Shamash-ibni, the Dakurite, to whom Assur-etil-ilâni, king of Assyria, showed favor, and whom he had brought out of the [mountains], to Bît-Dakur, his land, and caused him to rest in a sarcophagus in the house of the fortress, without contention.

1134. Whoever thou art, whether a governor, or a sheriff, or a judge, or a prince, who art stationed in the land, against that sarcophagus and *esitti* ("remains"?) thou shalt not commit sin. Its place protect, stretch over it a goodly shelter. For that may Marduk, the great lord, lengthen thy reign, may he place his kind, protecting shadow over thee. Thy [name], thy seed and thy eternal life (*lit.*, life of future days) [may he bless].

1135. If a prince, himself, or a governor, or a sheriff, or a judge, or a viceroy, who shall be in (that) land, sins against

that sarcophagus and *esitti*, alters its place, removes it to another place, or if someone incites him to (do the) evil, and he harken, may Marduk, the great lord, destroy his name, his seed, his offspring, his descendants in the mouth of the people. May Nabû, the oppressor of the adversary, shorten the number of his future days. May Nergal not spare his life from misery, pestilence and calamity.

1135A. Inscribed brick from the temple of Urash at Dilbat. Published in Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. I, Plate 29.

For Urash, the exalted lord, first among the great gods, E-ibe-Anum, the awe-inspiring shrine of the great lord, his lord, Assur-etil-ilâni, king of Assyria, restorer of the shrines of the great gods, son of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, shepherd of the black-headed (race of men),—E-ibe-Anum, the holy place, which is in Dilbat, the abode of Urash and Nin-egal, has restored (renewed). Of burnt brick, the product of the plain (? *or*, fire-god) he has built it anew and the foundation of its floor, according to the ancient plan (*lit.*, word) he has . . . . . (it), for all time. The "body" of that floor he made bright as the Tigris and the River (*i.e.*, the Euphrates) and for the feast of the great gods he established it. Their (these ?) . . . . . and . . . . for the feast they brought in haste. Daily, before Nabû, Marduk, Urash and Nin-egal, who dwell in that temple, may they speak words of grace for Assur-etil-ilâni, the king, their favorite. May his reign be long.

II. SIN-SHAR-ISHKUN

1136. From Nineveh have come fragments of a number of barrel cylinders with texts commemorating building operations of Sin-shar-ishkun (620–612) in that city. These texts have been published (in part republished) in *CT*, XXXIV, Plates 2 f.

1. K 1662:

1137. Month . . . . . , the third day, the eponymy of Daddi, abarakku (the keeper of the seal?).

1138. [Sin-shar⌉-ishkun, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, ... [chosen of] Assur and Ninlil, beloved of Marduk and Sarpanitum, dear to the heart of . . . . . ⌈the sure choice⌉ of the heart of Nabû and Marduk, favorite of . . . . . [Whom Assur], Ninlil, Bêl, Nabû, Sin, Nin-gal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of [Arbela] ⌈in the midst⌉ of his companions (? brothers), looked upon with their sure favor, and ⌈called his name for the kingship; whom they named in] every metropolis (for) the priesthood of every sanctuary (and for) the rule of [all the people]; to whose aid [they kept coming⌉, [like his father and mother], slaying his enemies and bringing low [his opponents] . . . . . ; whom they created for the rulership of the universe and crowned with the crown of rulership among all . . . . . [for the guidance] of (his) subjects, [into whose hand], Nabû, guardian of [all things, placed a righteous scepter and a just staff]. . . . . .

(*Break in tablet. Only a few signs are left in the first five lines of the next section.*)

1139. . . . . with joyous spirit, forever, [O Nabû] . . . . . subjugate my opponents. . . . . .
. . . . . .

1140. [Let some future prince] . . . . , when that temple shall fall to ruins and become old, [restore its ruins]. Let him look upon [the memorial] with my name inscribed thereon, let him anoint it with oil, [offer sacrifices and return it to its place]. Then Nabû and Tashmêtum [will hear his] prayers.

1141. [But whoever destroys my written name], does not set it up [beside] his written name, [may Nabû and Tashmêtum] not stand at his side, may they not ⌈hear his prayers]. [With an evil curse] may they curse him. His ⌈seed may they destroy] ⌈from the land⌉.

(*Date repeated.*)

2. Ki 1904-10-9, 352+Ki 1904-10-9, 353:

1142. The month *Du'uzu*, the eponymy of Nabû-tapputi.

1143. I am Sin-shar-ishkun, the great king, the mighty king . . . . . favorite of Assur, Enlil and Ninlil, the pious (prayerful) viceroy . . . . . the conquering prince, the sure choice of the heart of Sin, Ningal . . . . . companion(?) of Ishtar who dwells in Nineveh (and) Ishtar who dwells in [Arbela] . . . . . and the great gods, ... from the midst of my companions (? brothers) [chose me] . . . . . .

1144. . . . . . in my first year of reign . . . . . to completely restore the sanctuaries, walls, habitations of [Assyria, the gods . . . . . whose godhead] I fear (worship) . . . . . they have espoused my cause against my opponents and upon the plain . . . . . Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the father of the father, my begetter, ... I mustered(?) from(?) . . . . . ⌜I beautified⌝, its construction I ⌜completed].

1145. [May (some)] future [prince], among the kings, my sons, [when that temple shall fall to ruins], restore its ruins . . . . . the name of Sin-shar-ishkun . . . . . let him anoint it [with oil], offer sacrifices, and [set it up] alongside the memorial [inscribed with his name]. (Then) Assur, and Ninlil, [will hear] his prayers.

(*Date repeated.*)

3. 81-7-27, 8+82-5-22, 26:[1]

1146. . . . . . the great gods whom I fear (worship), whose sanctuaries I am seeking out, whose sovereignty I am imploring . . . . . ⌜at my side⌝ they have stood, with the gracious aid they have rendered they have

[1] Ki 1904-10-9, 357, is a fragment of a duplicate and helps in the restoration of some lines.

been my substitutes (*lit.*, have answered in my stead), they have killed my foes, ⌜my enemies⌝ they have consumed (*lit.*, burned up), the foes of Assyria, who were not favorable to my rule, they have ⌜overwhelmed⌝, [the power] of the winds coming down upon me they have shattered.

1147. [At the beginning] of my kingship, in my first year of reign, when [I seated myself] upon the royal throne, [to rehabilitate] the metropolises, to restore, completely, the sanctuaries, walls and habitations of Assyria, ... steadfastly I(?) . . . . . [and the great gods⌝, whose divinity I fear (worship), have espoused my cause against my opponent, and upon the plain . . . . . they have . . . . . me, ...

4. K 1663:

1148. . . . . . [Slaying] his [enemies (and) bringing low⌝ [his opponents] . . . . . whom they created for [the rulership] of the universe, and among all . . . . . [for the guidance of (his)] ⌜subjects⌝ crowned him with the crown of rulership; [into whose hand], Nabû, guardian [of all things, placed a righteous scepter and a just staff] for the government of the widespread peoples; [whom], for the settlement of ruined [cities⌝ and . . . . . Bêl and Nabû have . . . . . [The compassionate (wide-hearted), the . . . . .], possessed of sense and judgment, ⌜leader of the widespread peoples], ... judging a judgment of righteousness, whose word to . . . . . one not causing distress . . . . . in their distress guarding . . . . . .

1149. [Son of Esarhaddon, the great king⌝, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria. . . . . .

5. DT 64+82-5-22, 27:

1150. . . . . . king of Assyria . . . . . of Esharra . . . . . [Marduk and Sarpanitum⌝, Nabû and

Tashmêtum . . . . . Nusku . . . . . for the kingship . . . . . have called his name . . . . . my ⌜opponents(?)⌝] . . . . . my begetter, ... [changed(?) my (lowly)] birth [to a noble birth(?)]; [Nabû, guardian of all things,] has placed into my hands [a righteous scepter and a just staff] . . . . . my best (choicest?) . . . . . [they heard⌝(?) my pious (words) . . . . . like incense(?) was pleasant (*lit.*, good) . . . . . his favor . . . . . their name . . . . . .

6. 80-7-19, 13:

1151. . . . . ⌜my royal(?) abode⌝, ⌜I have rebuilt⌝, I have finished, I have completed, [with splendor] ⌜I have filled it⌝.

1152. At Assur Sin-shar-ishkun rebuilt the temple of Nabû, inscribing the record thereof on bricks, cylinders, prisms, and *zigâti*. The text on the fragments of these objects which have survived are published in *KAH*, II, Nos. 128 f.

7. *KAH*, II, No. 129 (on a *zigatu*):

1153 [Sin]-shar-ishkun, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, [viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad⌝, [(grand)son] of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of [Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad⌝, (great grand)son of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the unrivaled prince, descendant of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad.

1154. At the beginning of my reign, in accordance with the will of the god, my heart prompted me to (re)build the temple of Nabû which is in the city of Assur. In a favorable

month, on an auspicious day, I laid its foundation platform. With sesame-wine and grape-wine I sprinkled its foundation walls. Molding its brick, performing labor upon it, they passed their days to the accompaniment of music. From its foundation platform to its top I built, I completed it.

1155. The month of *Tashritu*, eponymy of —ilu, the chief baker.

8. *KAH*, II, No. 128 (cylinder inscription) and No. 131:

1156. . . . . . ⌜they looked upon him⌝, approvingly . . . . . for the guidance of the remnant subjects, for the restoration of . . . . . they crowned him with the crown of rulership. . . . . into whose hands Nabû, guardian of all things, placed a righteous scepter and a just staff for the government of the [widespread people]. The compassionate (*lit.*, wide of heart) . . . . . possessed of sense and judgment, learned in wisdom, [just⌝ judge, [who speaks righteousness and] justice, whose abomination is unwarranted acts, [whose] distress is . . . . . The exalted prince, the rightful ruler, leader [of the widespread peoples], whose kingship the great gods made pleasant (*lit.*, good), like incense(?); son of Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, ... king of the four regions (of the world); (grand)son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, (great-grand)-son of Sennacherib . . . . . king of Assyria, the prince without a rival, descendant of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king . . . . . viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad.

1157. At the beginning of my reign, after [Assur] . . . . . Sin, Shamash, Urta, Nergal and Nusku, from the midst of my companions (*or*, brothers) [chose me] . . . . . and like my father and mother, kept coming to my aid, slaying my enemies, [bringing low those not submissive to me],

giving me kindly support, graciously hearing my prayers (*lit.*, me), [at their command(?)] to (re)habilitate the cities, to restore, fully, the sanctuaries, to cause to prosper the . . . . . I searched out the (sacred) places of the great gods, my lords, and my heart prompted me [to do] every [needful thing].

1158. When the temple of Nabû, which is in Assur, which . . . . . had built, fell to decay, Assur- . . . . . restored it, again it fell to decay and . . . . . restored it . . . . . .

9. *KAH*, II, No. 137 (a prism fragment):

1159. [In a favorable month], ⌜on an auspicious day⌝, into [the temple] I caused [them] to enter, and take up [their] eternal abode. The choicest of bullocks, fat lambs,—splendid sacrifices, before Nabû (and) Tashmêtum, my lords, I offered and caused them to be presented(?) in the temple. Nabû (and) Tashmêtum looked with favor upon my pious deeds and blessed my kingship.

1160. Let (some) future prince among the kings, my sons, when that temple shall fall to ruins, having become old,—⌜let him restore its ruins⌝, let him look upon the memorial with my name inscribed thereon, let him anoint it with oil, ...

1161. The following column, which was the last, has only a few signs left at the beginning of the lines. They are part of the usual curse which follows the blessing, and the date.

1162. 10. *KAH*, II, No. 136 (another prism fragment containing parts of the first and last columns of an inscription):

1163. *b*. . . . . the god . . . . . by the raising of [their gracious] eyes, looked upon him with favor, ... they adorned him, for the kingship; for establishing the foundation of . . . . . (for) guiding aright the remnant subjects, for restoring the . . . . . .

they crowned him with the crown of rulership. Nannir (luminary) of the gods, Sin . . . . . ⌜a just staff⌝ . . . . . .

1164. *a*. . . . . does not write my name alongside of his name, ... Ninlil, Marduk, Sarpanitum, ... Nabû and Tashmêtum, at the lifting of his hands (in prayer), may they not stand at his side, may they not hear his supplications, may they curse him [with an evil curse]. . . . . .

11. *KAH*, II, No. 134 (brick inscription):[1]

1165. I (am) Sin-shar-ishkun, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Assurbani-pal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions (of the world), (grand)son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, (great-grand)-son of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the unrivaled prince, descendant of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, restorer of the temple of Nabû, my lord, which is in the city of Assur. That court with burnt brick, the work of the god Nunurra, I built.

[1] A duplicate is 1922-8-12, 72 in the British Museum. Another fragmentary brick inscription, containing only the king's genealogy, is published in *KAH*, I, No. 56.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FALL OF NINEVEH

1166. The following newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle (BM 21,901) is included in this volume of Assyrian historical inscriptions for obvious reasons. Among other things it fixes the date of the fall of Nineveh at 612 B.C. The text, transliteration, and translation were published in *The Fall of Nineveh*, by C. J. Gadd.

1167. In the tenth year, Nabopolassar, in the month of *Aiaru*, mobilized the Babylonian army and marched (up) the bank of the Euphrates. The people of the lands of Suhu and Hindanu did not attack him (but) laid their tribute before him.

1168. In the month of *Abu* they reported (that) the Assyrian army (was) in the city of Kablini. Nabopolassar went up against them and in the month of *Abu*, the twelfth day, he made an attack upon the Assyrian army. The army of Assyria was overthrown and Assyria sustained a decisive (*lit.*, great) defeat. They took many of them prisoners. The Manneans, who had come to their aid, and the nobles of Assyria they captured. On the same day Kablini was captured.

1169. In the month of *Abu*, the king of Akkad (Babylonia) sent his armies against the cities of Manê, Sahiru and Balihu. They took (many) prisoners and carried off large quantities of their spoil, overthrowing their gods.

1170. In the month of *Ululu*, the Babylonian king and his army turned back. On his (return) march he took with him to Babylon (the people of) Hindanu and its gods.

1171. In the month of *Tashritu*, the army of Egypt and the army of Assyria pursued the king of Akkad as far as the

city of Kablini, but they did not overtake the king of Akkad. He hastened after them and in the month of *Adaru* the army of Assyria and the army of Akkad fought each other in the plain(?)[1] of the city of Arrapha, and the army of Assyria was overthrown before the army of Akkad. They inflicted a decisive defeat upon them, throwing them back to the river Zab, capturing their ⌜asses⌝ and horses, taking many of them captive. His many . . . . . they took over the Tigris with them and brought them to Babylon.

1172. [In the eleventh year, the king] of Akkad mobilized his army and marched (up) the bank of the Tigris. In the month *Aiaru* he encamped by the city of Assur. On the . . . . . day of *Simânu* he made an attack upon the city but did not take the city. The king of Assyria mobilized his army and, the king of Akkad being turned back (repulsed) from Assur, pursued him, along the Tigris, as far as the city of Takritain (Tekrit). The king of Akkad took his army up into the fortress of Takritain. The king of Assyria and his army encamped against the army of the king of Akkad which was shut up in Takritain. For ten days he made attacks upon them but did not take the city. The army of the king of Akkad, which was shut up in the fortress, inflicted a decisive defeat upon Assyria. The king of Assyria and his army ⌜gave up⌝ and returned to his land.

1173. In the month of *Arahsamnu*, the Medes came down upon the land of Araphu and made an assault upon the city of . . . . . .

1174. The twelfth year, in the month of *Abu*, the Medes, as they were . . . . . against Nineveh, ... and hastened. Tarbisu, a city in the province of Nineveh, was captured(?) . . . . . [Their king] descended the Tigris, encamped against Assur, made an assault upon the city and captured it. [The city] he de-

[1] *al madanu.* Is this the *maidân* of Arabic cities?

stroyed. He inflicted a bad defeat upon the people and nobles. He took its people captive, [and carried off its spoil. The king] of Akkad and his army, which had marched to the aid of the Medes, did not arrive (in time for) the assault. The city . . . . . [The king of Akkad¹ and Umakishtar (Kyaxares) became acquainted (*lit.*, saw each other) before the city. Good- (will) and alliance were established between them. ⌜Umakishtar⌝ and his army returned to his land.

1175. [In the thirteenth year, in the month of *Aiaru*¹, the people of the land of Sûhu revolted against the king of Akkad and began hostilities. The king of Akkad mobilized his army and marched against Sûhu. In the month of *Simânu*, the fourth day, he made an assault against the city of Rahîlu, a city which is in the middle of the Euphrates, and on that day he took the city. Its . . . . . he built of stone which they had brought down the bank of the Euphrates (to a point) in front of it.

1176. . . . . . over against the city of Anatu (Anah) he encamped. A siege engine, from across the river, to the west he . . . . . The siege engine he brought near to the (city) wall. He made an assault upon the city but he did not take the city(?). . . . . The king of Assyria and his army came down and the king of Akkad and his army turned [and went back to his land].

1177. (*Rev.*) [In the fourteenth year] the king of Akkad mobilized his army . . . . . the king of the Umman-manda over against the king of Akkad was encamped, they . . . . . and became acquainted with each other. The king of Akkad . . . . . and Umakishtar . . . . . he caused to cross over and they went along the bank of the Tigris and . . . . . in Nineveh . . . . . .

1178. From the month of *Simânu* to the month of *Abu*, three times they battled(?) . . . . . a mighty assault he made upon the city. In the month of *Abu*, [the x day, the

city was taken.] . . . . . a great slaughter was made of the people and nobles. On that day Sin-shar-ishkun, king of Assyria, fled from the city(?) . . . . . Great quantities of spoil from the city, beyond counting, they carried off. The city [they turned] into a mound and ruin heap. . . . . [The army] of Assyria deserted (*lit.*, ran away before) the king and . . . . . of the king of Akkad . . . . . .

1179. In the month of *Ululu*, the twentieth day, Umakishtar and his army returned to his land. After him(?) the king of Akkad . . . . . They marched as far as the city of Nisibinu (Nisibis). Plundering and burning(?) . . . . . and (of) the land of Rasapu to Nineveh they brought unto the presence of the king of Akkad.

1180. In the month(?) . . . . . [Assur-uballit] in Harran took his seat on the throne as king of Assyria. Until the month of . . . . . in Nineveh . . . . . from the twentieth day of the month of . . . . . of the month of *Tashritu* in the city of . . . . . .

1181. In the fifteenth year, the month of *Du'uzu* . . . . . the king of Akkad . . . . . against Assyria marched . . . . . victoriously . . . . . the army of the land of . . . . . and the land of . . . . . he captured. They took many of them captive and carried off their spoil . . . . . In the month of *Arahsamnu* the king of Akkad turned his army about and made an attack upon the city of Ruggulitu . . . . . he made an assault upon the city and in the month of *Arahsamnu*, the twenty-eighth day, he took(?) the city . . . . . not a man [escaped] . . . . . returned to his land.

1182. In the sixteenth year, in the month of *Aiaru*, the king of Akkad mobilized his army and marched against the land of Assyria. In the month of *Arahsamnu*, the Ummanmanda . . . . . came to the support of the king of

Akkad and they united their armies and toward Harran, against Assur-uballit, who sat on the throne in Assyria, they marched. Assur-uballit and the army of ⌜Kullania(?)⌝, which had come to his aid,—fear of the enemy fell upon them and they forsook the city and . . . . . they crossed. The king of Akkad reached Harran and . . . . . he took the city. Much plunder, beyond counting, he carried off. In the month of *Adaru*, the king of Akkad . . . . . their . . . . . he left and he returned to his land and the Umman-manda who had come to the aid of the king of Akkad . . . . . .

1183. In the month of *Du'uzu* Assur-uballit, king of Assyria, the great army of Egypt . . . . . crossed the river and marched against Harran to take it . . . . . the garrison which the king of Akkad had stationed therein they defeated(?), they smote. Against Harran he encamped until the month of *Ululu*. He made an assault upon the city, but nothing came of it, he did not take(?) the city. The king of Akkad marched to the aid of his army. He made an assault(?) . . . . . he went up to the land of ⌜Izalla.⌝ Many cities of the lands . . . . . their . . . . . he burned with fire.

1184. At that time his army [advanced] . . . . . as far as the province of Urashtu (Armenia) . . . . . in the land . . . . . they took (many) of them captive. The garrison of the king . . . . . and to the city of . . . . . The king of Akkad returned to his land.

1185. In the seventeenth year, in the month of . . . . . the king of Akkad mobilized his army and . . . . . .

(*Here the tablet breaks off. The last line, being the so-called "catch line," furnishes the text of the first line of the next tablet of the series.*)

1186. (*Subscript*) He who loves Nabû and Marduk, let him preserve this (tablet), let him not allow it to leave his hand.

CHAPTER XV

CHRONOLOGICAL TEXTS AND A LIST OF ASSYRIAN KINGS

1187. While it has been thought best to discuss Assyrian chronology in connection with the Babylonian kings' lists and chronicles to be published in Vol. III (see Vol. I, § 15), the following lists of kings and officials who gave their names to the *limmus* or eponymous years belong in this volume.

I. KINGS' LISTS

1188. 1. The following important text from Assur (No. 4128) was published by Weidner, *Die Könige von Assyrien*, pp. 12 f., and plates (see *KAV*, No. 216):

COLUMN I

. . . . . .

1)	⌜Adasi⌝	"	. . . . .	"
2)	Bêl(EN)-bani	"	⌜Ishkibal⌝	"
3)	Shabâ	"	⌜Shushshi⌝	"
4)	Sharma-Adad	"	Gulkishar	"
5)	Gimil(?)-Sin	"	. . .—⌜rien⌝	"
6)	Zimzâia	"	⌜Peshgaldaramash⌝	"
7)	Lullâ	"	Adara-kalamma	"
8)	SHI-Ninua	"	Ekur-ul-anna	"
9)	Sharma-Adad	"	⌜Melam-kurkurra⌝	"
10)	Erishu	"	Ea-gamil, ⌜Gandush⌝	"
11)	Shamshi-Adad	"	⌜Agum⌝, the first	"
12)	"	"	Kashtiliashu	"
13)	"	"	Abiratash	"
14)	"	"	Kashtiliashu	"
15)	"	"	Tazzigurumash	"
16)	"	"	Harba-⌜shipak⌝	"
17)	"	"	. . . . .	"
18)	"	"	⌜Agum⌝	"

19)	[Ishme]-Dagan	"	⌜Kurigalzu⌝	"
20)	[Shamshi]-Adad	"	⌜Meli-shipak⌝	"
21)	[. . . . .]	"	["]	"
22)	[Puzur-Ashir⌝	"	⌜Nazimarutash⌝	"
23)	[Enlil⌝-nâsir	"	"	"
24)	Nûr-ili	"	"	"
25)	[Ishme-Dagan⌝	"	"	"

COLUMN II

. . . . . .

1)	Tukulti-[Urta]	"	[Kashtiliashu]	"
2)	. . . . .		[his *umman*]	
3)	Assur-nâdin-apli	"	[Enlil-nâdin-shumi	"]
4)	"	"	[Kadashman-harbe	"]
5)	⌜Assur⌝-nirâri	"	Ramman-[shum-iddin	"]
6)	Enlil-kudur-usur	"	" [	"]
7)	[Urta⌝-apal-ekur	"	Ramman-shum-nâsir	["]
8)	["]	"	⌜Meli-shipak⌝	["]
9)	["]	"	⌜Marduk⌝-apal-iddin	["]
10)	⌜Assur-dan⌝	"	Zamama-[shum-iddin	"]
11)	"	"	[Enlil]-nâdin-[ahê	"]
12)	Urta-tukulti-Assur	"	Marduk-[shâpik-zêri	"]
13)	Mutakkil-Nusku	"	. . . AN . . . . . [his *umman*]	
14)	⌜Assur-resh⌝-ishi	"	Urta-[nâdin-shumi	"]
15)	["]	"	Nabû-kudur-usur	["]
16)	["]	"	Enlil-nâdin-apli	["]
17)	Tukulti-apal-esharra	"	[Marduk]-nâdin-ahê	["]
18)	⌜Urta-apal-êkur⌝	"	Itti-[Marduk-balâtu	"]
19)			Ilu- . . . . . [his *umman*]	
20)	Assur-bêl-⌜kala⌝	"	Marduk-[shâpik-zêr-mâti	"]
21)	Enlil-⌜râbi⌝	"	Ramman-apal-iddin	"]

22)	Assur-bêl-kala	"	Marduk-[ahê-erîba	"]
23)	"	"	[Marduk-zêr	"]
24)	"	"	[Nabû-shum-li-bur	"]

COLUMN III

1)	Eriba-Adad, king of ⌜Assyria⌝		[Shimmashshipak, king of Babylon]	
2)			[. . . . . his *umman*	]
3)	Shamshi-Adad	"	Ea-⌜mukin-shumi⌝	"]
4)	Assur-nâsir-apli	"	Kashshu-[nadin-ahi	"]
5)	Shulmanu-asharidu	"	Ulmash-[shakin-shumi	"]
6)	Assur-nirâri	"	Urta-⌜kudur-usur	"]
7)	Assur-râbi	"	Shiriktu-[Shukamuna	"]
8)	Assur-rêsh-ishi	"	Mâr-bîti-[apal-usur	"]
9)	Tukulti-apal-esharra	"	[Nabû-mukîn]-apli	["]
10)	"	["]	Urta-kudur]-usur	["]
11)	"	["]	Mâr-bîti-ahi⌝-iddin	["]
12)			. . . . . his *umman*	
13)	Assur-dân	"	Shamash-mudammik	["]
14)	Adad-nirâri	"	"	
15)			Kaliâai [his *umman*	]
16)	Tukulti-Urta	"	Nabû-shum-[ukîn	"]
17)	⌜Gabbi⌝-ilâni-eresh		his *umman*	
18)	Assur-nâsir-apli	"	Nabû-apal-iddin	["]
19)	⌜Gabbi⌝-ilâni-eresh	"	his *umman*	
20)	Shulmanu-asharidu	"	[Marduk-zakir-shumi	"]
21)	Meluhhâ		⌜his *umman*]	

. . . . . .

COLUMN IV

1)	[Sin]-ahê-erîba, king of Assyria	[Marduk-zakir-shumi, king of Babylon]	
2)	Nabû-apal-iddin, his *umman*	[Marduk-apal-iddin]	"
3)		Bêl-[ibni]	"

4)		king of Akkad, the second .....
5)		3 (kings), dynasty of Bît- . . . -ma
6)		Assur-nâdin-shumi, Assur- . . . "
7)	Sin-ahê-erîba	Nergal-shezib, son of ..... "
8)		Mushezib-Marduk ..... "
9)		kings .....
10)	Sin-ahê-erîba, king of Assyria and Babylon	
11)	Bêl-upahir	Kalbu, his *umman*
12)	Assur-ahi-iddin, son of Sin-ahê-erîba, king of Assyria and Babylon	
13)	Nabû-zêr-lîshir, Ishtar-shum-eresh, his *umman*	

14)	Assur-bân-apli	"	Shamash-shum-ukîn	"
15)	Assur-bân-apli	"	Kandalanu	"
16)	Ishtar-shum-eresh		his *umman*	

17)	82 kings of Assyria from	Erishu, son of Ilu-shumma
18)	to Assur-bân-apli	son of Assur-ahi-iddin
19)	98 kings	of Akkad
20)	from Sumula-ilu	to Kandalanu

1189. 2. *KAV*, No. 18:

. . . . . .

Shali-[ahu]	.....
Shamshi-li⌜shuma]	.....
Eri⌜shu]	.....
Iku⌜nu⌝	.....
Sharru-⌜ken⌝ king of	la .....
⌜Puzur-Assur⌝	.....
Ahu-⌜Assur]	Za— .....
[Rim]-Sin	Pi— .....
.....	Assur-bêl-[nishêshu]
.....	Assur-⌜rim-nishêshu]
.....	.....

1190. 3. *KAV*, No. 14:

..... Assur	.....
[Rim]-Sin	.....
⌜Irishu⌝	.....

Shamshi-Adad	Ishme-[Dagan]
..... ashshat	Rimush

⌜SHI⌝-nina	Sharma-[Adad]
⌜Erishu⌝	Shamshi-[Adad]
[Ishme-Dagan⌝	Shamshi-[Adad]
. . . . .	Puzur-Assur
. . . . .	Nûr-ili
. . . . .	Assur-[nirâri]
. . . . .	Enlil-[nâsir]
. . . . .	Assur— . . . . .

1191. 4. *KAV*, No. 15:

OBVERSE	REVERSE
[Ahu⌝-Asur	Assur-nirâri
. . . . . years	6 years
Rim-Sin	
. . . . . years	Enlil-kudur-usur
	5 years
	Urta-apal-ekur
	grandson

1192. 5. *KAV*, No. 11:

⌜Enlil-nâsir⌝ . . . . . .
Assur-bêl-nishês⌜hu] . . . .
Assur-rîm-nishê[shu] . . . .
Assur-nâdin-ahi, Erîba-Adad, ...
Enlil-nirâri . . . .
his *umman* . . . .
Arik-dên-ilu . . . . .

1193. 6. *KAV*, Nos. 10 and 12:

COLUMN I	COLUMN II
[Urta-apal-êkur⌝	. . . . .
[Assur]-dân	⌜Shiriktu-Shukamuna]
Urta-tukulti-Assur	Mâr-[bîti-apal-usur]
Mutakkil-Nusku	Nabû-⌜mukîn-apli]
Assur-rêsh-ishi	Urta-kudurri-usur
Tukulti-apal-esharra	Mâr-bîti-ah-iddin
Urta(SAG-KAL)-apal-ekur	Shamash-mudammik
[Assur-bêl⌝-kali	Nabû-shum-[ukîn]
[Erîba]-Adad	Nabû-apal-[iddin]
[Shamshi]-Adad	Marduk-[. . . . . .]

II. THE *LIMMU* OR EPONYM LISTS

1194. The following list of eponymous years is made up out of fragments from the British Museum collections, published in IIR, Plates 68–69, IIIR, Plate 1, and IIR, Plate 52, republished in Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke* (2d ed.), pp. 87 f., and Bezold, *PSBA*, XI, 268 (82-5-22,526 and Rm 2,97), together with the new Assur material in *KAV*, Nos. 19–24. (See the important article by Olmstead in *JAOS*, XXXIV, 344 f.)

1195. *KAV*, No. 19:

OBVERSE

. . . . . u	
. . . . . zu	[son of] . . . . . ni . . . . .
Bêl-muballit,	son of Adad-⌜temen⌝-[ia] . . . . .
[Assur]-shimani,	son of Mul . . . . .
Kina-usur,	brother . . . . .
Nab-li',	son of SAG . . . . .
Ubru,	son of Muballit- . . . . .
Shamash-shum-iddina,	son of Nâdin-shu . . . . .
Assur-bêl-ilâni,	son of . . . . .
Mâr-Adad,	son of Adad-gimil-[tirri] . . . . .
Mâr-Sherua,	his brother . . . . .
Adad-shum-rabi,	son of SAG . . . . .
. . . . . Adad,	son of . . . . .

REVERSE

Adad-⌜uballit⌝	
Shamash-shamê	
Mudammik	
Sutiu	
Ittabshi-[dên-Assur]	
Shamash-shum-iddina,	son of . . . . .
Epir-Adad,	son of . . . . .
Adad-bêl-ilâni,	son of . . . . .
Talluku,	son of . . . . .
Athi-nada,	brother of . . . . .
Arad-tiri,	son of A . . . . .
Assur-abi,	son of . . . . .
Idin-bêr,	son of . . . . .
. . . . . -shar-	

Sha-Assur-damka
Adad-mudammik
Bêr-mudammik
Daiânu . . . . . .
Bêr-nâdin- . . . . . .

1196. *KAV*, No. 21:

COLUMN III

. . . . . .
1103 . . . . . PAP
1102 . . . . . nu
1101 . . . . . dî
1100 . . . . . ashdu
1099 . . . . . Assur
1098 . . . . . datati
1097 . . . . . shakun
1096 . . . . . sunu
1095 ⌜Shulmanu⌝-shum-iddina
1094 . . . . . 'zu
1093 . . . . . ibshi
. . . years
1092 [Urta-apal⌝-ekur, king
1091 . . . . . .
1032 . . . . . .

COLUMN IV

1033 Nusku-asharidu
1032 Nergal-Ea . . . . . .
1031 Nashhai
19 years

1030 Shulmanu-asharidu, king
1029 Ilia-shangu-mushab[shi]
1028 . . . ash(?)-kudur)
1027 . . . . . sa(?)-shum-usur
1026 . . . . . ku
1025 . . . . . lamur
1024 . . . . . ash(?)ma(?)
1023 . . . . . .
1022 . . . . . .
1021 Ni(?) . . . . . .

1020 .....
1019 Siki-ilani(?) .....
12 years

1018 Assur-nirâri, [the king], who (reigned) after [Shalmaneser]
1017 " "
1016 " "
1015 " "
1014 " "
1013 " "
6 years

1012 Assur-rabi
1011 Assur-mushezib
1010 Ittab[shi .....
1009 Assur-etir[anni
1008 Nabû-dan
1007 Assur-ballit(?)
1006 Kîn- .....
1005 Ku .....
1004 .....
(*Break in the list*)

COLUMN V

967 .....
966 Tukulti-apil-esharra
965 Assur-bêl-lamur
964 again Assur-bêl-lamur
963 ..... LAL RID
962 ..... RID
961 ..... mu .....
960 .....
959 .....
958 .....
957 .....

KAV, No. 22:

COLUMN V

956 .....
955 ..... a .....
954 ..... tab(?) ilu(?)
953 ..... dû

952 Ishtar-dudû
951 . . . . . lika
950 [Habil[1]-kinu
949 . . . . dinishe
948 Bau-shakin-mâti
947–941 (*Break in the list*)
940 . . . . . .
939 Urta- . . . . . .
938 Assur-na- . . . . . .
937 Tukulti-apil- . . . . . .
936 Nâdin- . . . . . .
935 Bêl- . . . . . .
934 Nannar- . . . . . .
33 years
933 Assur-dân
932–894 . . . . . .
(*Break in the list*)[1]

1197. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 87:
893 . . . . . shar . . . . . .
892 Urta-zarme
891 Tâb-êtir-Assur.
890 Assur la-Kînu
889 Tukulti-Urta, the king.
888 Tak-lak-ana-bêl-ia.
887 Abi-ili-a-a.
886 Ilu-milki.
885 Iari.
884 Assur-shezibani.
883 Assur-nasir-apli, the king.
882 Assur-iddin.
881 Shumutti-adur.
880 Sha-ilima-damka.
879 Dagan-bêl-nasir.
878 Urta-pia-usur.
877 Urta-bêl-usur
876 Shangu-Assur-lilbur.
875 Shamash-upahir (*v.*, ub-la)
874 Nergal-bêl-kumua.

[1] For the *limmus* of the reign of Adad-nirâri II (911–891 B.C.) see Vol. I, §§ 355 f.

(*KAV*, No. 22, Col. VI)

873 Kurdi-Assur.
872 Assur-li'.
871 Assur-natkil.
870 Bêl-mudammik.
869 Daiân-Urta.
868 Ishtar-emukâia
867 Shamash-nûri
866 Mannu-dân-ana-ili.
865 Shamash-bêl-usur.
864 Urta-iliai
863 Urta-etiranni.
862 Urta (*v.*, Assur)-iliai.
861 Nergal-iska-danin

1198. Here begins the so-called Eponym List with notes. Text in IIR, Plate 52, and Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 f.

860 Tâb-Bêl when Shulman-asharidu (Shalmaneser) son of Assurnasirpal [took his seat on the throne]

(*PSBA*, XI, 286, 82-5-22,526)

859	Sharru-baltu-nishê		⌜against Hamanu]
858	Shulman-asharid (Shalmaneser)	king of Assur	⌜against Bit-Adini]
857	Assur-bêl-ukin	field-marshal	[against Bit-Adini]
856	Assur-bunaia-usur	chief cup-bearer	[against Bit-Adini]
855	Abu-ina-ekalli-lil-bur	high chamberlain	.....
854	Daiân-Assur	field-marshal	[against Hatte]
853	Shamash-abûa	governor of Nasibna	[against Til-Abni]
852	Shamash-bêl-usur	(governor) of Calah	[against Babylonia]
851	Bêl-bunaia	high chamberlain	[against Babylonia]
850	Hadi-lipushu	(governor) of	[against Carchemish]
849	Nergal-alik-pani	(governor) of	[against Hatte]
848	Bir-Ramana	[(governor) of	against Pakarhubu-na]
847	Urta-mukîn-nishê	[(governor) of	against Iaeti]

(*KAV*, No. 21, Col. VI)

846	Urta-nâdin-shum	[(governor) of	against Hatte]
845	Assur-bunûa	[(governor) of	against Nairî]

844	Tâb-Urta	[(governor) of	against Namri]
843	Taklak-ana-sharri (*v.*, -Assur)	[(governor) of	against Hamanu]
842	Adad-rimani	[(governor) of	against Damascus⌉
841	Bêl-abûa (*v.*, Shamash-)	(governor) of Ahi-[Suhina]	⌈against Kue⌉
840	Shulmu-bêl-lumur	(governor) of Rasappa	against ⌈Kumuhi⌉
839	Urta-kibsi-usur	(governor) of Ahi-Suhina	against Danabi
838	Urta-ilia	(governor) of Salmat	against Tabali
837	Kurdi-Assur	(governor) of ⌈Kirruri⌉	against Melidi
836	Shêpâ-sharri	(governor) of Nineveh	against Namri
835	Nergal-mudammik	the abarakku	against Kue
834	Iahalu	(governor) of ⌈Kakzi⌉ against Kue	against Kue The great god went out from Dêr.
833	Ululâia	(governor) of ⌈Nasibina⌉	against Urartu (Armenia)
832	Nishpatî-Bêl	(governor) of ⌈Calah⌉	against Unki
831	Nergal-ilia	(governor) of Arrapha	against Ulluba
830	Hubâia	(governor) of [Mazamua⌉	against Mannai
829	Ilu-mukîn-ahi	(governor) of	revolt
828	Shulman-asharidu (Shalmaneser)	king of Assyria	revolt
827	Dâian-Assur	[field-marshal]	revolt
826	Assur-bunâia-usur	[chief-cup-bearer]	revolt
825	Iahallu	[abarakku]	revolt
824	Bêl-bunâia	[high chamberlain]	revolt
823	Shamshi-Adad	king of ⌈Assyria	against Sikris⌉
822	Iahalu	[field-marshal	against Madai⌉
821	Bêl-daian	high chamberlain	against . . . . shumme
820	Urta-upahhir	[abarakku	against Karne⌉
819	Shamash-ilia	[abarakku	against Karne⌉
818	Nergal-ilia	[(governor) of Arrapha	against Tille⌉
817	Assur-bana-usur	[chief cup-bearer	against Tille⌉
816	Nishpatî-Bêl	(governor) of ⌈Nasibina⌉	against Zarate

815	Bêl-balat	(governor) of ⌜Calah⌝ against Dêr	The great god went to Dêr.
814	Mushiknish	(governor) of ⌜Kirruri⌝	against Ahsana
813	Urta-asharid	(governor) of [Salmat⌝	against Chaldea
812	Shamash-kumûa	(governor) of Arrapha	against Babylonia
811	Bêl-kâta-sabat	(governor) of Mazamua	in the land
810	Adad-nirâri	[king] of Assyria	against Madai
809	Nergal-ilia	field-marshal	against Guzana
808	Bêl-daian	high chamberlain	against Mannai
807	Sil-bêl	chief cup-bearer	against Mannai

(81, 2–4, 187, *PSBA*, *loc. cit.*)

806	Assur-taklak	abarakku	against Arpadda
805	⌜Shamash-ilia⌝	abarakku	against Hazazi
804	Nergal-êresh	(governor) of Rasappa	against Ba'li
803	Assur-baltu-nishê	(governor) of Arrapha	against the seacoast. A plague.

(*KAV*, No. 21, Col. VII)

802	Urta-ilia	(governor) of Ahi-Suhina	against Hubushkia
801	Shêpâ-Ishtar	(governor) of Nasibina	against Madai
800	Marduk-ishme-ani(?)	(governor) of Amedi	against Madai
799	Mutakkil-Marduk	Rab-shakê	against Lusia
798	Bêl-tarsi-iluma	(governor) of Calah	against Namri
797	Assur-bêl-usur	(governor) of Kirruri	against Mansuate
796	Marduk-shaddûa	(governor) of Salmat	against Dêr
795	Kîn-abûa	(governor) of Tushhan	against Dêr
794	Mannu-ki-Assur	(governor) of Guzana	against Madai
793	Mushallim-Urta	(governor) of Tillê	against Madai
792	Bêl-ikîshani	(governor) of Mehinish(?)	against Hubushkia
791	Shêpâ-Shamash	(governor) of Isana	against Itu'a
790	Urta-mukîn-ahi	(governor) of Nineveh	against Madai
789	Adad-Mushammir	(governor) of Kakzi	against Madai

788	Sil-Ishtar	(governor) of [Arba-ilu?]	The foundation of the temple of Nabû in Nineveh was torn up (for repairs).
787	Balatu	(governor) of [Shiba-niba?]	Against Madai. Nabû entered the new temple.
786	Adad-uballit	(governor) of ⌜Rimusi⌝	against ⌜Kiski⌝
785	Marduk-shar-usur	(governor) of	against Hubushkia. The great god went to Dêr.
784	Nabû-shar-usur	(governor) of Kurban	against Hubushkia.
783	Urta-nasir	(governor) of Mazamua	against Itu'
782	Nabû-li'	(governor) of Nasibina	against Itu'
(*V.*,	787 Nabû-shar-usur		
	786 Adad-uballit		
	785 Marduk-shar-usur		
	784 Marduk-nâsir		
	783 Ilima-li'-)		
781	Shulman-asharid (Shalmaneser)	king of Assyria	against Urarti
780	Shamshi-ilu	field-marshal	against Urarti
779	Marduk-rîmani	chief cup-bearer	against Urarti
778	Bêl-lishir	high chamberlain	against Urarti
777	Nabû-ishid-ukîn (*v.*, Shamash-ishidia-ukîn)	abarakku	against Itu'
776	Pân-Assur-lamur	shaknu	against Urarti
775	Nergal-êresh	(governor) of Rasappa	against Erini
774	Ishtar-dûri	(governor) of Nasibina	against Urarti (and) Namri
773	Mannu-ki-Adad	(governor) of Salmat	against Damascus
772	Assur-bêl-usur	(governor) of Calah	against Hatarika
771	Assur-dân	king of Assyria	against Gananati
770	Shamshi-ilu	field-marshal	against Marrat
769	Bêl-ilia	(governor) of Arrapha	against Itu'

768	Aplia	(governor) of Mazamua	in the land
767	Kurdi-Assur	(governor) of Ahi-Suhina	against Gananati
766	Mushallim-Urta	(governor) of Tillê	against Madai
765	Urta-mukîn-nishê	(governor) of Kirruri	against Hatarika. A plague.
764	Sidki-ilu	(governor) of Tushhan	in the land
763	Bur (Ishdi)-Sagale	(governor) of Guzana	revolt in city of Assur. In the month of *Simânu* an eclipse of the sun took place.
762	Tâb-Bêl	(governor) of Amedi	revolt in the city of Assur.
761	Nabû-mukîn-ahi	(governor) of Nineveh	revolt in the city of Arrapha
760	Lakipu	(governor) of Kakzi	revolt in the city of Arrapha
759	Pân-Assur-lamur	(governor) of Arbailu	revolt in the city of Guzana. A plague.
758	Bêl-taklak	(governor) of Isana	against Guzana. Peace in the land.
757	Urta-iddina	(governor) of Kurban	in the land
756	Bêl-shadûa	(governor) of Parnunna	in the land
755	Ikishu (*v.*, Kîsu)	(governor) of Mehinish(?)	against Hatarika
754	Urta-shezibani	(governor) of Rimusi	against Arpadda. Return from the city of Assur.
753	Assur-nirâri	king of Assyria	in the land
752	Shamshi-ilu	field-marshal	in the land
751	Marduk-shallimani	high chamberlain	in the land
	(*KAV*, No. 23, Col. VIII)		
750	Bêl-dân	chief-cup-bearer	in the land
749	Shamash-kên-dugul	abarakku	against Namri
748	Adad-bêl-ukîn	shaknu	against Namri

747	Sin-shallimani	(governor) of Rasappa	in the land
746	Nergal-nâsir	(governor) of Nasibina	revolt in the city of Calah
745	Nabû-bêl-usur	(governor) of Arrapha	On the thirteenth day of the month of *Airu* Tiglath-pileser took his seat on the throne. In the month of *Tashritu* he marched to the territory between the rivers.
744	Bêl-dân	(governor) of Calah	against Namri
743	Tukulti-apal-esharra (Tiglath-pileser)	king of Assyria	in the city of Arpadda. A massacre took place in the land of Urartu (Armenia).
742	Nabû-daninani	field-marshal	against Arpadda
741	Bêl-harran-bêl-usur	high chamberlain	against Arpadda. After three years it was conquered.
740	Nabû-êtirani	chief cup-bearer	against Arpadda
739	Sin-taklak	abarakku	against Ulluba. The fortress was taken.

(*KAV*, No. 21, Col. VIII)

738	Adad-bêl-ukîn	shaknu	Kullani was captured.
737	Bêl-emurani	(governor) of Rasappa	against Madai
736	Urta-ilia	(governor) of Nasibina	To the foot of Mount Nâl
735	Assur-shallimani	(governor) of Arrapha	against Urarti
734	Bêl-dân	(governor) of Calah	against Philistia
733	Assur-daninani	(governor) of Mazamua	against the land of Damascus
732	Nabu-bêl-usur	(governor) of Si'mê	against the land of Damascus
731	Nergal-uballit	(governor) of Ahi-Suhina	against Sapia
730	Bêl-ludâri	(governor) of Tilê	in the land
729	Naphar-ilu	(governor) of Kirruri	The king took the hand of Bêl

728	Dûr-Assur	(governor) of Tushhan	The king took the hand of Bêl
727	Bêl-harran-bêl-usur	(governor) of Guzana Shalmaneser	against Damascus took his seat on the throne.
726	Marduk-bêl-usur	(governor) of Amedi	in the land
725	Mahdê	(governor) of Nineveh	against [Samaria]
724	Assur-ishmeani	(governor) of ⌜Kakzi⌝	against [Samaria]
723	Shalmaneser	king of Assyria	against [Samaria]

(Rm 2,97, *PSBA*, *loc. cit.*)

722	Urta-ilia	⌜field-marshal⌝	[the foundation of the temple of Nabû was torn up (for repairs)⌝.
721	Nabû-târis	[high chamberlain]	[Nabû entered the new temple⌝.
720	Assur-iska-danin (*KAV*, No. 20)	[field-marshal	against Tabala⌝.
719	Sargon	king of ⌜Assyria⌝	the foundation of the [temple of Nergal⌝ was torn up (for repairs).
718	Zêr-ibni	(governor) of Ra	against Mannai.
717	Tâb-shar-Assur	⌜abarakku⌝	. . . . provinces were established.
716	Tâb-sil-esharra	(governor) of Assur	. . . . . Musasir of Haldia.
715	Taklak-ana-bêl	(governor) of Nazibina	great . . . . in Ellipa.
714	Ishtar-dûri	(governor) of Arrapha	Nergal entered the new temple.
713	Assur-bâni	(governor) of Calah	against Musasir.
712	Sharru-êmurani	(governor) of Zamua	in the land.
711	Urta-âlik-pâni	(governor) of Si'me	against Markasa.
710	Shamash-bêl-usur	(governor) of ⌜Arzuhina⌝	against Bêt-zêrnâîd, the king in Kish . . . . .
709	Mannu-ki-Assur-li'	(governor) of Tillê	Sargon took the hand of Bêl.
708	Shamash-upahhir	(governor) of Kirruri	Kumuha was captured. A governor was appointed.

707	Sha-Assur-dubbi	(governor) of Tushhan	The king returned from Babylon.
706	Mutakkil-Assur	(governor) of Guzana	... from the city of DûrIakin brought out.
705	Nashir-Bel	(governor) of Amedi	the city of Dûr-Iakin was destroyed.
704	Nabû-dîn-epush	(governor) of Nineveh	the gods entered into their temples.
703	Kannunnai	(governor) of Kakzi	[the nobles[1] were in Karalli.
702	Nabû-li'	(governor) of Arbailu	
701	Hananai	(governor) of . . . . . bi	
700	Metunu	(governor) of Isana	
699	Bêl-sharani	(governor) of [Kurban]	
698	Shulmu-shar	(governor) of	
697	Nabû-dûr-usur	(governor) of	
696	Shulmu-bêl	(governor) of Rimusa	
695	Assur-bêl-usur	(governor) of	
694	Ilu-ittia	(governor) of Damascus	
693	Nâdin-ahê	(governor) of	
692	Zazai	(governor) of Arpadda	
691	Bêl-êmurani	(governor) of Carchemish	

(*KAV*, No. 23, Col. IX)

690	Nabû-mukin-ahi (*v.*, Nabû-bêl-usur)	(governor) of Samaria
689	Gihilu	(governor) of Hatarika
688	Nadin-ahê	(governor) of ⌜Simirra⌝
687	Sennacherib	king of Assyria
686	Bêl-êmuranni	(governor) of Calah
685	Assur-daninanni	(governor) of . . . . . ub
684	Mannu-zirni (*var.*, Man-zirnê)	(governor) of Kullania
683	Mannu-ki-Adad	(governor) of Supite
682	Nabû-shar-usur	(governor) of Markasi
681	Nabu-ah-êresh	(governor) of Samalli
680	Dananu	(governor) of ⌜Mansua⌝
679	Itti-Adad-aninu	(governor) of Magidunu
678	Nergal-shar-usur	chief-cup-bearer

(*KAV*, No. 24)

677	Abi-rama	high minister
676	Banbâ	second minister
675	Nabû-ahi-iddina	chief governor
674	Sharru-nûri	(governor) of Barhalzi
673	Atar-ilu	(governor) of Lahiri
672	Nabû-bêl-usur	(governor) of Dûr-Sharrukîn
671	Kanunai	*SAR-TINU*-official
670	Shulmu-bêl-lashme	(governor) of Dêr
669	Shamash-kâshid-aibi	(governor) of Ashdod
668	Mar-larim	field-marshal
667	Gabbar	(governor) of . . . . .
666	Kanunai	(governor) of Bît-eshshi
665	Mannu-ki-sharri	prefect of the land
664	Sharru-ludâri	(governor) of Dûr-Sharrukîn
663	Bêl-nâid	field-marshal
662	Tâb-shâr-Sin	(governor) of Rasappa
661	Arbailai	
660	Gir-zapuna	
659	Silim-Assur	
658	Sha-Nabû-shu	
657	Lâbâsi	

(Streck, *Assurbanipal*, I, CDLIX)

656 Milki-râmu
655 Amiânu
654 Assur-nâsir
653 Assur-ilai
652 Assur-dûr-usur
651 Sagabbu
650 Bêl-harrân-shadûa
649 Ahu-ilai
648 Bêlshunu

III. A LIST OF ASSYRIAN KINGS[1]

1199.
Ititi
Enlil-kapkapu
Ushpia . . . twenty-fourth century B.C.
Kikia

[1] See Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, pp. 450f.

Zarikum . . . twenty-third century B.C.
Puzur-Assur I . . . twenty-second century B.C.
Shalim-ahum
Ilushuma
Irishum I
Ikûnum
Sargon I
Puzur-Assur II
Ahi-Assur
Rîm-Sin
Irishum II
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Shamshi-Adad I
Ishme-Dagan I
. . . . . ashshat
Rimush
Adasi
Bêl-bâni
Shabâi
Sharma-Adad I
Gimil(?)-Sin
Zimzâi
Lullâi
SHI-Ninua
Sharma-Adad II
Irishum III
Shamshi-Adad II
Ishme-Dagan II
Shamshi-Adad III
. . . . . .
Puzur-Assur III
Enlil-nâsir I
Nûr-ili
Ishme-Dagan III
Assur-nirâri I. . . . . *ca.* 1550 B.C.
Puzur-Assur IV
Enlil-nâsir II
Assur-râbi I

Assur-nirâri II
Assur-bêl-nishêshu
Assur-rîm-nishêshu
Assur-nâdin-ahî
Erîba-Adad I
Assur-uballit I..... *ca.* 1380 B.C.
Enlil-nirâri
Arik-dên-ilu
Adad-nirâri I..... *ca.* 1300 B.C.
Shalmaneser I..... *ca.* 1280 B.C.
Tukulti-Urta I..... *ca.* 1250 B.C.
Assur-nâdin-apli
Assur-nirâri III
Enlil-kudurri-usur
Urta-apal-êkur I
Assur-dân I
Urta-tukulti-Assur
Mutakkil-Nusku
Assur-rêsh-ishi I
Tiglath-pileser I..... *ca.* 1100 B.C.
Urta-apal-êkur II
Assur-bêl-kala (I)
Enlil-râbi
Assur-bêl-kala (II)
Erîba-Adad II
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Assur-râbi II
Assur-rêsh-ishi II
Tiglathpileser II
Assur-dân II
Adad-nirâri II..... 911– 891 B.C.
Tukulti-Urta II..... 890– 884
Assur-nâsir-pal II..... 883– 859
Shalmaneser II..... 858– 824
Shamshi-Adad V..... 823– 810
Sammuramat..... 809– 806

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Shalmaneser IV	781– 772
Assur-dân III	771– 754
Assur-nirâri V	753– 746
Tiglath-pileser III	745– 727
Shalmaneser V	727– 722
Sargon II	721– 705
Sennacherib	705– 681
Esarhaddon	680– 669
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Assur-etil-ilâni	626– 621
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Assur-uballit II	611– 606

INDEX OF NAMES

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The Assyrians, like the Hebrews, often replaced the gentilic adjective by the phrase "Son of —." So, for example, instead of "Adinite," we find "Son of Adinu," which means "of the land of Adinu." Other examples will be found in connection with some of the references (listed below) under Amukkanu, Bahianu, Dakkuru, Gabbaru, Halupê, Humri, Iakin, Kapsi, Sha'alli, Shilani, and Zamanu.

The abbreviations are: C for city, G for god (and goddess), L for land, Mt. for mountain, P for personal name, R for river, T for temple.

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[1] Dr. Geers suggests the possibility of reading Habhi, in view of Weissbach, *Miscellen*, pl. IV, l. 15.

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II. ASSYRIAN MONTHS

1.	*Nisânu*.....	March-April.....	*tanmarte*.....	^{d}*Sin*
2.	*Ai(a)ru*.....	April-May.....	^{d}*Sin*.....	*kuzalli*
3.	*Simânu*.....	May-June.....	*kuzalli*.....	*allanâte*
4.	*Dûzu*.....	June-July.....	*allanâte*.....	^{d}*bêlat-ekallim*
5.	*Abu*.....	July-August.....	^{d}*bêlat-ekallim*..	*ša sarâte*
6.	*Ulûlu*.....	August-September.....	*ša sarâte*.....	*ša kinâte*
7.	*Tašrîtu*.....	September-October....	*ša kinâte*.....	*muhur-ilâni*
8.	*Arahsamna* .	October-November....	*muhur-ilâni*....	*abu-šarrâni*
9.	*Kislimu*....	November-December...	*abu-šarrâni*....	*ḫibur*
10.	*Ṭebêtu*.....	December-January....	*ḫibur* (*ḫubur*)..	*ṣippi*
11.	*Šabâṭu*.....	January-February.....	*ṣippi*.....	*ḳarrâte*
12.	*Addaru*.....	February-March.....	*ḳarrâte*.....	*tanmarte*

(To the left are given the later Assyrian names, to the right the older ones [cf. *ZDMG*, Vol. LXXIV, Part I]. The time of the change to the later forms is indicated in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I [Vol. I, § 282], but the scribes of Shalmaneser III still knew and occasionally used the older names [e.g., Vol. I, § 700]. Possibly Sennacherib's scribe was playing with one of the old names [Vol. II, § 436] when he calls the first month *nanmurti*, of the star Apin. The months were lunar months, and the Babylonian-Assyrian calendar intercalated a second *Ulûlu* or a second *Addaru* whenever it became necessary to bring together the first of *Nisânu* and the vernal equinox, in theory the beginning of the year.)

III. ASSYRIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

(There is still considerable uncertainty as to the ancient weights and measures. The reader is referred for details to Thureau-Dangin's discussion in *Journal Asiatique* [1909], pp. 79 f., and *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XVIII, 123 f.)

1. MEASURES OF WEIGHT

She (grain).....	46.76 mg.
shiklu (shekel) = 180 *she*.....	8.416 gr.
manû (mina) = 60 *shiklu*.....	505 gr.
biltu (talent) = 60 *manû*.....	30,300 gr.

2. MEASURES OF LENGTH

ubânu (finger)	16.5 mm.
ammatu (cubit) = 24 *ubânu*	396. mm.
kânu (reed) = 6 *ammatu*	2.376 m.
GAR = 12 *ammatu*	4.752 m.

(In the Babylonian systems were also the *subban* = ½ *ashlu*, the *ashlu* (cord) = 10 *GAR*, and the *bêru*, "double-hour" = 1,800 *GAR*).

3. MEASURES OF AREA

musarû = 1 sq. *GAR*	22.58 sq. m.

(The Assyrians, like the Babylonians, indicated the area of fields by the amount of grain sown thereon, so we read of fields of so many *PI* or *imêru*.)

4. MEASURES OF VOLUME

	Liters
sûtu = 10 *Ka*	8.42
PI = 60 *Ka*	50.52
imêru (homer, ass-load) = 100 *Ka*	84.2

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOLUME I

After Volume I was on the press the first volume of the *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, by Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner came to hand. The authors had access to a large body of unpublished material from Kalat-Sherkat which they incorporated in their volume. This new material was especially useful in completing some of the published texts from the earliest Assyrian rulers. The more important new texts, as well as the principal restorations and corrections of the published texts, are here given.

P. 12, §§ 23 f. The inscription of Shalim-ahum, as far as preserved, reads: "Shalim-ahum, etc. The god Ashir desired of him(?) a temple and (so) he built a temple of . . . . . , for all time. The palace of Idin-Dagan(?),—its interior (roóms), its *izari*, ... the *bît huburi* and its stables(?), for his life and the life of his city, for Assur . . . . . .

§§ 25 f. The lines to the left of lines 6–8 may now be restored: "The freedom of the Akkadians he established." A new text of Ilu-shuma reads (after the introduction): "Ilu-shuma, viceroy of Assur, for Ishtar, his lady, for his life, built (this) temple and with a mighty(?) wall—a new one—he surrounded (the city?). To my citizens (*lit.*, city) I apportioned houses (*i.e.*, estates). Two outlets from the reservoir (*or*, swamp) of Assur, were opened up and from (*or*, by) the two outlets, the bricks of the wall I molded. (Of) the one outlet, its waters went down toward the gate of *ausu*, of the second outlet, (the waters) went down toward the gate of the god Wertum. The freedom of the Akkadians and their sons I established . . . . . their heads. . . . . For Ur and Nippur, Awal and ⌜Kismar⌝, Dêr of the god Kadi, together with the city of Assur,—their freedom I established."

P. 13, § 32 (end), read: "two *hus* of 1 talent each of copper in their foundations I placed." [See Meissner's new text, p. 18.]

P. 14, § 33, read, probably, instead of "and tablet(s)" *etc.*: "and the freedom (from tax?) of silver, gold, bronze, lead, grain, wool, (even) to . . . . . and . . . . . I established. On every wall, *etc.*" Then: "Assur, my lord, stood (at my side). From the *zinim*-gate to the *nisi*-gate, I allowed (the people) to select houses (estates). My father constructed(?) (the city wall), and to all my father (had built), I made the wall rise higher(?).

§ 36. This text is now restored in full. After the introduction, we read: "Irishum, viceroy of Ashir,—Adad stood at my side. For Adad my lord, for my life, *etc.*"

P. 15, §§ 39 f. Of the three new texts of Ikunum, the two following are important:

a) "Ikunum viceroy of Assur, son of Irishum, viceroy of Assur. Irishum built the temple of Adad and made beautiful its construction. Ikunum, his son, brought the temple to completion . . . . . ."

b) "Ikunum, viceroy of Assur, for Assur, his lord, the god, his leader(?), has dedicated (this) *bidanam*(?)-stone, and Assur-igi(?) has brought in his work, for his life."

P. 16, § 43A, l. 10, read: "completed" instead of "planned," and, l. 16, "The temple of Enlil, my lord, I completed."

P. 17, § 46, l. 11 "(*Col. VI*), may Shamash, Enlil, Adad and the god-king of the land remove his seed(?). Before the king who is his foe, may he and his forces not prevail."

P. 18, § 48, add after "kings' list [*KAV*, *etc.*]": "and in the well-known seal impression on a Cappadocian tablet published by Sayce, *Babyloniaca*, IV, 77: 'Sharru-⌜kên⌝, viceroy of Assur, son of ⌜Ikunum⌝, viceroy of Assur.' "

P. 21. The fragmentary text given in § 57 is now to be assigned to Enlil-nirâri, son of Assur-uballit.

P. 24. Ebeling's collation clears up a number of difficulties in the text given § 65. Read: "builder of the temple of Shamash, the temple of the protecting god, for the days, *etc.*"

P. 31, § 85, l. 3, read: "Tigris-gate" instead of "Gate of Nabû."

P. 45, add, as § 128 A (*KAH*, II, Nos. 155–56 and unpublished texts, *AB*, I, 126 f.): "Shalmaneser, *etc.*, son of Adad-nirâri, *etc.*, (grand)son of Arik-dên-ilu, *etc.*, founder of splendid cities, builder of Ekur (the temple), the abode of the gods, the dwelling of Nunnamnir (Enlil). When the old (*lit.*, earlier) temple which Ushpia, my ancestor, priest of Assur, had built aforetime, fell to ruins, then my ancestor Erishu, priest of Assur, rebuilt it. One hundred and fifty-nine years went by and it again fell to ruins and Shamshi-Adad, my ancestor, priest of Assur, rebuilt it. Five hundred and eighty years passed and the temple and its sanctuary were destroyed by a conflagration of fire. That temple in its entirety I tore down. I went down to its foundation, laid its foundation walls (firm) as the structure of the mountain. Two *namari* which did not exist before, I built according to plan(?). The

court of Nunnamnir and the area of the court of Assur, my lord, I enlarged and made (them) greater than (they were) before. Seats and standards (bases) I placed in their sanctuaries. All of the gods of Ekur (the temple) I established therein. My stele and foundation tablets I set up. (*Curse followed by the date:*) Month *Sha-sarâte*, twentieth day, eponymy of Assur-damik, son of Abi-ilu."

P. 47, § 135, l. 4, for "in the street" read: "[was destroyed] by an earthquake." Also, § 210, l. 3, for "into the square" read, "through an earthquake."

P. 68, add as § 205 A (*KAH*, II, No. 158: ". . . . . the whole of the land of Duri (?) . . . . . a hurricane . . . . . mighty . . . . before my armies ⌜took their stand], ... ⌜battle⌝, bravely they stood. ⌜To⌝ Assur and the great gods, my lords [I raised my hands in prayer], ⌜with them⌝ I battled, their defeat I accomplished. (With) their corpses I filled the [. . . . and gullies] of the mountain. By the side of their city-gate I heaped up their corpses [like grain]. The cities I destroyed, I devastated, to tells and ruins I turned (them). The wide . . . . . I brought under my sway. In joy of heart and (in) might, over them I . . . . . ⌜the Ukumeni⌝, the hordes of its princes, my hand captured. Their . . . . . to my city Assur I brought. I made them take oath by the great [gods⌝ of heaven and earth, my royal yoke I imposed upon them, to their land I sent them back. . . . . at my feet I caused to submit and the carrying of the headpad I laid on them. Their heavy [booty] in Assur, my city, I received at a banquet(?) . . . . . their . . . . . was too difficult and for the advance of my armies. . . . . At the fury of my battle they halted (in fear) and submitted at my feet. [Tribute and tax⌝ I laid upon them. At that time against the land of Sharnida, ... I advanced. The rest of the Kutî, whom Assur had presented to my staff(?), brought [to my city⌝ Assur mighty beams(?) of Mehri(-land) wood, and my royal palace, which . . . . . (*Rev.*) . . . . . mighty . . . . . of his royal city. . . . . my people(?) had . . . . . rebellion(?) . . . . . I captured, their sanctuaries, like an earthquake, I shook . . . . . to my city Assur I brought. The Shubarî, all of them, ... who formerly, in the reign of Shalmaneser, ... had withheld their [tribute], having come to a common understanding, ... [To the gods, my lords,⌝ I raised my hands in prayer. Against Mount Kashiari . . . . their . . . . . I set on fire . . . . . alive I burned . . . . . [as booty] I counted. 4+? of his strong, royal cities I captured. The fortress of

Amadani [I stormed] . . . . . to my city Assur I brought . . . . . in terror of me he halted (in fear) and . . . . . of his whole land he forsook . . . . . victoriously I came in . . . . . fled. The violence of my battle they feared . . . . and, that their lives might be spared, they cried aloud(?) . . . . . with fire I burned, to tells and ruins I turned (them) . . . . . [Alaia,[1] Teburzi, ⌜Burukuzzi], ... their . . . . . I seized, for . . . . . ."

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